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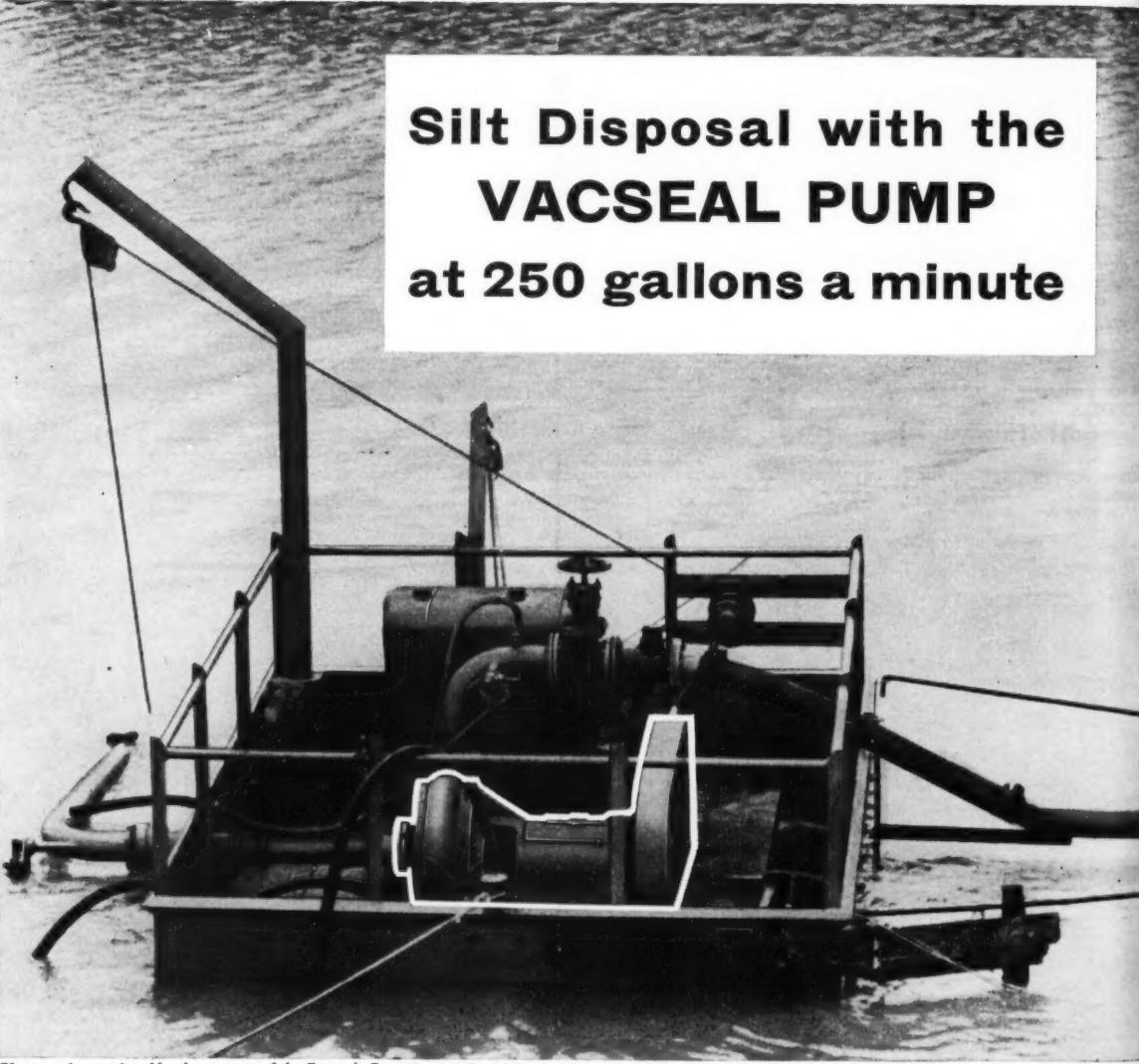
Volume XI Number 12

LONDON

DECEMBER 1957

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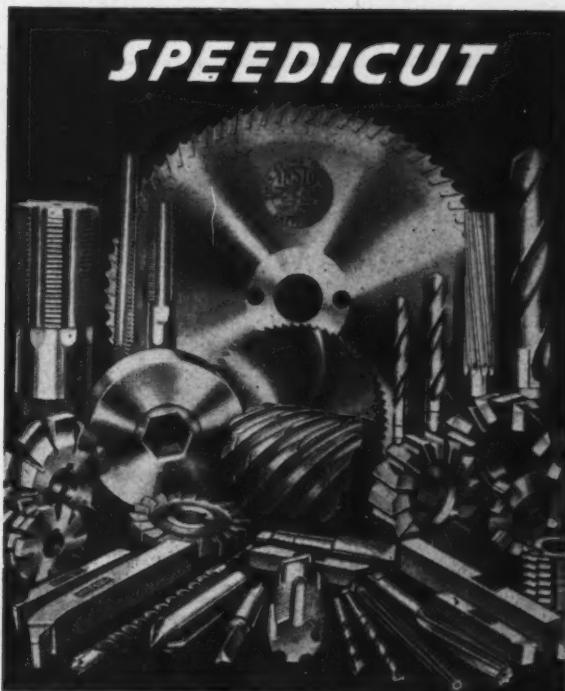
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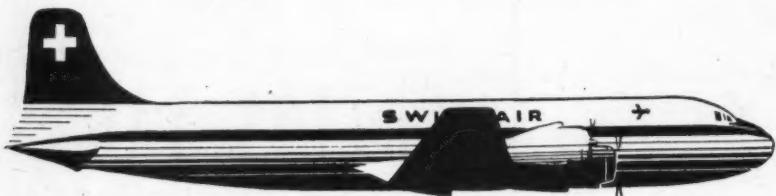
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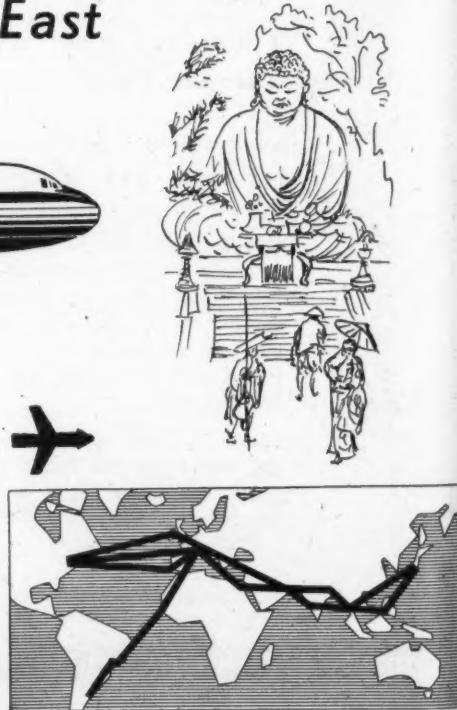
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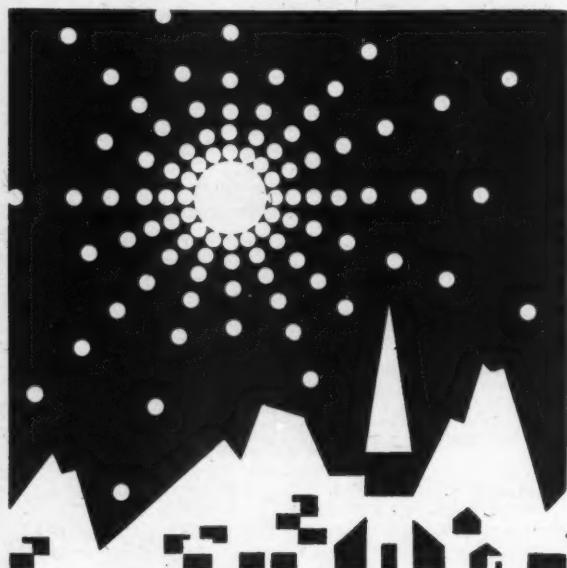
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*The Editor does not hold himself responsible for opinions expressed in signed articles.*

**Front Cover picture:** Tea master Soya Hisada of Kyoto during a tea ceremony. He is preparing tea for his guests according to the traditional etiquette created by Sen-no-Rikyu in the 17th century. The rules are very complicated and aim towards the cultivation of mental composure and graceful poise.  
(Photo by H. C. Taussig)

# EASTERN WORLD

CABLES: TADICO, LONDON

58 Paddington Street, London, W.1

TELEPHONE: WELBECK 7439

*Editor:*  
H. C. TAUSIG

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*Distribution Manager:*  
BRIDGET M. EVERITT

SUBSCRIPTION: £1 10s. post free. AIR MAIL: Subscriptions taken by air mail to all countries depend on cost of postage added to the basic subscription fee of £1 10s. (Present additional costs: £3 p.a.)

London

December

1957

## The Economic State of India

AFTER returning empty-handed from his trip to America and Britain Mr. Krishnamachari, the Indian Finance Minister, has the satisfaction of knowing that at least £45 million from Russia is assured for the Second Five Year Plan. The agreement signed in Delhi last month between the Soviet Deputy Minister for Heavy Machinery and the Secretary of the Indian Cabinet, allows for the credit of £45 million (500 million roubles) to be repaid in 12 yearly instalments at a fixed rate of two and a half percent interest.

Although the Russian loan has been given a great deal of publicity it is not, in fact, anything new. Agreement between the two countries was reached a year ago, and the recent signing in Delhi was only a formalisation of the form the loan would take. In the event Russia will be responsible for fitting out five large industrial projects: a plant for manufacturing coal mining machinery, a heavy machine-building plant, a power station, an optical equipment factory, and a new coal-field. The Russians have gained the best publicity from the signing because it came at a time when the financial state of India was causing worry in other capitals of the world than just Delhi, and also when Indians were talking with some annoyance of the reluctance of the western powers to come to the rescue of the Five Year Plan.

As useful as the Russian loan undoubtedly is, it is no more than a fraction of India's needs if she is to go forward with the Plan as it now stands. But there are many in India who are beginning to believe that the Plan is too ambitious and that its scope should be curtailed. It certainly now appears that when the Plan was formulated the Indian Government was over optimistic in its assessment of the amounts it could expect from foreign sources, and it estimated too highly what could be raised from internal revenue.

The Plan in itself is admirable, if ambitious, but it is beginning to look as if the foreign exchange crisis will force the Government to curtail imports of essential goods for the Plan. A few days before the announcement of the signing of the agreement with the Soviet Union, the Indian Government had decided that as a general policy import licences would be issued for capital goods and equipment for new industries, or

substantial expansion of existing industries, only where the first payment was to be made after April 1961.

Of course, the Indian planners were not able to foresee the drastic changes in world prices and other factors that have made the goods needed for the Plan so much dearer. India needed a bold blueprint if her great population was to be lifted even a trifle above bare subsistence level.

Although time is not on India's side she may yet expect some aid from western sources. Western Germany looks promising, and recent reports, together with Mr. Krishnamachari's own views, seem to indicate that the United States might appropriate some dollars by the spring. How loans from the West will be channelled, or on what terms, is for the moment a matter for speculation, but it should be noted what an obvious advantage it is to India to receive a loan with such a low rate of interest as that from Russia. For a country like America, that sets so much store by free enterprise democracy, there is a genuine dilemma in giving aid to the Indian Government. Should she be a party to the construction of a Socialist India, should she withhold, or should she try to influence, through aid, the course of events. The latter — aid with strings — has become so unpopular that even the Americans can hardly afford the luxury of indulging in it any more, or if they do it has to be done more subtly. So much is being said today about the necessity for seeing that Indian democracy succeeds in the face of Chinese Communism, that in the minds of many westerners it has taken on the form of a competition. The truth is that help for India should be given for its own sake and because the lives of some 450 million people are at stake.

With a plan of the size of India's some mistakes are inevitable, and it would be a tragedy indeed if the dynamism had to be extracted from the Plan to satisfy what need only be a temporary crisis. India may not have spent or bought wisely over the past two years, but she has not foundered through corruption or maladministration. Defence has been a heavy commitment, kept at an unnecessarily high level by the bad relations between herself and Pakistan, which are a by-product of the cold war. Food imports have imposed another

great burden. But what is staggering is the quantity of iron and steel that has been imported. According to the Finance Commission 4,300,000 tons of iron and steel have been imported in under eighteen months, as well as a very great quantity of different types of machinery. The cost of these two items alone was in the region of 325 crores of rupees for the year ended last March. The impression is that all the machinery, and iron and steel required for the whole Plan has been imported during the first two years. This would seem to be rash spending of foreign exchange, but it cannot now be undone, or sold back to the original source, and it is

some value that one particular section of the Plan has been fulfilled.

Little profit can be gained from chewing over what has gone wrong, for while the world is taken up with sputniks and the great powers spend fabulous amounts of money in the struggle for supremacy in destructive weapons, India wallows in a parlous economic state. And India is not the only country in dire need of assistance. The day has yet to dawn when the exercise of greatness will be subordinated to the needs of mankind.

## NATO POLTERGEIST

**T**HE NATO meeting in Paris on December 16 is rather a purposeful gathering of the West to ride off in many directions at once. For the first time in its history, the heads of the associated governments, including President Eisenhower, will be putting their heads together on post-sputnik strategy in defence, diplomacy, and economic and colonial policy. The means and methods of containing the uncommitted nations are an important feature of their agenda, and understandably a cause of anxiety to the peoples concerned.

Mr. Adlai Stevenson has made the sputniks responsible for the revival of bipartisan foreign policy in the US, and for his cooperation with Mr. Dulles in devising NATO's policies. Probably Mr. Macmillan will claim some credit for the happiness thus brought into American homes, for it was he who early in October raced to Washington ringing alarm bells. Britain and America decided that NATO needs new ideas: America is now deciding what those ideas should be. Neither the western partners of NATO nor the Commonwealth partners of Britain have yet been consulted.

The proposals and the kites being flown in advance include General Norstad's suggestion for the establishment of some form of machinery to link together the NATO, SEATO and Baghdad Pact countries. In this way a world-girdling deployment of American power would be achieved, notwithstanding the weak spots of the Middle East and South-East Asia. Such a development would be judged by SHAPE and the Pentagon as a benefit to the "free world," even though it would estrange the main uncommitted nations, whose goodwill is being so anxiously sought.

The distribution of nuclear weapons and rockets to the allied countries, and the lifting of the ban on West Germany to make such weapons have been under consideration by the US for some months. With the strong backing of Mr. Dulles and President Eisenhower, Britain's Prime Minister continues to call for "interdependence," in which "the nations of the free world must make an even more significant contribution of their national sovereignty in the common cause . . . towards a real union—an effective union of the free world."

M. Spaak, the Belgian Secretary-General, bobbing up in quick succession in Washington and London and Paris, is demanding a unified foreign policy for the NATO countries. He is also in favour of NATO discussing Cyprus and Algeria as

the joint colonial problem of all the NATO countries. The Afro-Asian nations must wonder at this angel Gabriel of the West, ever ready to blow the megaphone for Messrs. Dulles and Norstad. Which of the uncommitted nations would feel happy to receive economic aid from NATO, as the forthcoming meeting is expected to plan? "Defence and economics are inextricably bound up," according to Sir David Eccles, who further insisted that neither Western Europe nor the Commonwealth "can safely pursue a policy of economic independence against a background of interdependence in defence."

The NATO plans are decidedly sensational, but it is hard to see how they can be realised. Messrs. Eisenhower, Macmillan, Dulles, Norstad, and Spaak are huffing and puffing with all their might to breathe life into what looks uncommonly like a corpse. But they may succeed in blowing down some essential elements of the European body politic.

Ever since the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference on Indo-China in 1954, the unity of NATO has suffered from a wasting disease. Mr. Dulles, unable to bear the sight of Eden and Mendès-France getting together with Molotov to make peace, left them to it while he went off to organise SEATO. The summit meeting the same year, when Eisenhower agreed with Bulganin and Khrushchev that war was now unthinkable, robbed NATO of its main purpose. The hydrogen bomb developed in 1955 by both the US and the Soviet Union made war so patently obsolete that even Mr. Dulles revised his "massive retaliation" policy in favour of "limited wars." Then, more dramatically than anything else so far, the Suez affair last year showed how tenuous were NATO unity and objectives. France, enticing Britain to steal a march on the US, then preoccupied with a Presidential election, was this year snubbed in her turn when America and Britain supplied arms to Tunisia.

The tumult over the arms delivery to Tunisia is symptomatic of the feelings of the French public in this matter, but so long as the pattern of French internal politics remains unchanged, France will stay tied to NATO conceptions, however much she may be offended by the actions of her partners. As the precedent of Suez shows, the quarrel will be patched up only until interests clash elsewhere. Meanwhile the uncommitted nations will be drawing a few lessons for

themselves from the way in which the West ultimately shows its estimation of the independence of Tunisia.

If NATO as a defence alliance is a dead letter, its rejuvenation as a wider political alliance of the West is bound to be thoroughly unwelcome in Asia and the Middle East.

Even if only some of the ideas finding expression in the decisions taken at the NATO heads-of-governments meeting this month are implemented, it will be enough to seem in the eyes of the Asians a greater threat to them than to the Russians.

## Comment

### New Guinea Again

**D**EPEndING from where you look at it the joint statement by Australia and the Netherlands on the development of New Guinea could be said to have come at the right moment, or at the worst possible time. If the Australians have felt themselves, and the New Guinea territory under their control, threatened by the recent anti-Dutch demonstrations in Indonesia over the West Irian issue, then their agreement with Holland is, from their point of view, justified. But in the present state of heightened feeling in Indonesia over West Irian (Dutch New Guinea) the joint statement can only appear as outright support by Australia for the Dutch case. The result is that Indonesian feelings will be inflamed, and the agreement used as a strong argument to show that the spirit of colonialism is still very much alive among white people in Asia.

As the Australian position in New Guinea is in no way affected by the Indonesian claim to the western half, the best that can be said is that the timing of the Dutch-Australian statement was inopportune, coming just before the United Nations debate on the subject when Indonesians are particularly incensed.

The move seems to show the dichotomy of thinking in Canberra. On the one hand the Australian Government has come to recognise, as our Canberra Correspondent has recently reported in his dispatches, the necessity for closer relations and better understanding with Indonesia, its closest Asian neighbour, and on the other it seems that Australians are apprehensive of Indonesia replacing the Dutch in New Guinea. Apprehensive to a degree where they are prepared to risk the consequences of a bad neighbour policy in their determination to ensure that there is no change of administration in the disputed territory.

Looking at policies of this kind against the background of Asian reactions in general, and Indonesian feelings in particular, it is not easy to understand the motive. If the Indonesians were to take over the administration of West New Guinea from the Netherlands, Australia could work for the development of the country as a whole just as amicably with the Djakarta authorities as it could with the Dutch.

It is perhaps going a little too far to think, as Dr. Subandrio, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, seems to do, that the statement might be construed as a military pact against Indonesia, but the fifth principle as announced in Canberra does read as if Australia and the Netherlands will be standing together, shoulder to shoulder, to defy any attempt by Indonesia to take over the territory, even if military defence is not implied. "Both Governments," it says, "are determined to promote uninterrupted develop-

ment . . . etc." The use of the word "uninterrupted" looks very much as if it were a warning to Indonesia.

For a long time the Dutch have been hoping that Australia would come down on their side in the dispute, and they have been pointing to the Australian administration of eastern New Guinea as some sort of justification for their own position. But from the Indonesian point of view the situation is clear cut: in gaining their independence they were inheritors of the old Dutch East Indian empire, and West New Guinea was part of that empire. The dispute has been confused by arguments about the ethnological background of the New Guinea peoples; that those peoples have nothing racially in common with the Indonesians. But, of course, they also have nothing racially in common with the Dutch either. People also point to the unstable political situation in Indonesia and claim that it is not capable of looking after its own affairs, let alone competent enough to administer new territories. There is also some fear, in Australia, of the apparent growing strength of Communism in Indonesia. But these arguments leave out of account the fact that while West Irian is a burning issue in Indonesia, greater opportunities present themselves for the rowdier political elements to capture a following. Refusing to recognise Indonesia's claim as legitimate is not going to have the effect of teaching the Indonesians a lesson about putting their own house in order. It will only aggravate the situation, and make Indonesia appear to outsiders to be all the more disordered.

But in the final analysis it comes down to the question of whether anyone in the mid-twentieth century should support colonialism in Asia. It might well be argued that in a country as backward as West New Guinea the term colonialism does not properly apply. What is important is that to the Asian mind it *does* apply. All other discussion aside, this is how it looks from Asia, and legal arguments, self-righteous posturings, and claims of altruism will not alter the fact that to countenance one small act of colonialism will undo many other acts of good will and understanding which have helped to bring Asia and the West closer together.

### Nepal versus India

**T**O regard the dismissal by King Mahendra of Mr. K. I. Singh from the premiership of Nepal as a "victory for India," as one British paper has done, seems to reflect the mentality of American journalism, which sees in the election, and the rise and the fall of governments all over the world, nothing but American victories and defeats. Perhaps in this instance there may be some excuse for the inability to see the internal cross-currents in the Himalayan fastness,

and the belief that everything happening there must necessarily reflect its policy *vis-à-vis* India.

Not long ago, Singh was defamed as a Communist for taking asylum in China after an unsuccessful armed adventure. King Mahendra called him home, restored his civil liberties, and then some months ago, entrusted him with the premiership, against strong criticism from all political parties in Nepal. The Royal choice fell on the man who did not belong to any clique, as practically all the other Nepalese politicians do, and whose patriotism appeared beyond doubt. But in office, Singh quickly developed a liking for personal dictatorship, beside being more anti-Indian than some of the previous ministries. He was dismissed, not because of his attitude to India as such, but because he threatened to reduce the Monarch's authority and was undermining Indo-Nepalese friendship, a cardinal point in Nepal's independence.

It was with India's support and by Nehru's personal mediation that the absolute and reactionary Rana régime was replaced by the rule of the Kings. The present King and his father have both shown more appreciation of, and keenness for, the political and material advancement of their country than anyone else. The wealthy Rana families and their associates have a strong influence in the country's feudal society, and have ample room for political manoeuvring by forming numerous parties, none of which has more than a handful of supporters. For the monarchy and for India as its friend, these Nepalese politicians have little affection. But among the new men now coming forward in a spirit of nationalism and the desire to emulate India, the position is quite different. They find their King's leadership and India's practical help highly advantageous for the country.

In spite of Nehru's devotion to the principles of *panch shila*, his ideas and policies are not always expressed in complete accord with them. There are also Indians, in and out of Nepal, who look to this undeveloped country as a field for exploitation. From the opposite pole, the Nepalese, too, especially the Ranas, have much property and industrial investments in India, and enjoy complete freedom in the social and economic field. Yet in Nepal, India has been non-interfering while giving technical advice how to run both banks and roads. The dismissed K. I. Singh tore up the Nepalese Five-Year Plan prepared with Indian assistance, and substituted ropeways for bridges in the road plan, because according to reports he reasoned that "troops move along roads but not along ropeways. Our best defence is that no one can reach us."

Apart from this anti-Indian inclination, Nepalese politicians have no fear of their neighbours, not even China, as the western press would have them do. China has shown not the slightest tendency to interfere, and her new policy towards Tibet has deprived of force all insinuations about her intentions towards Nepal. Against western plans such as SEATO, Nepalese opinion is equally proof, and is well aware that India's policies present Nepal, too, with the best shield against them.

### Diem Makes Friends

**M**R. Ngo Dinh Diem, President of South Vietnam, made more of a hit during his four-day visit to India last month than perhaps either he himself or the Government of India expected. He was welcomed and entertained

as befits the head of an Asian government, but with a degree of popular participation that was considerably in excess of protocol. President Diem himself responded warmly, the climax of his popularity coming at the hour of parting, when he declared solemnly that his country "neither accepted foreign military bases nor foreign troops on its territory."

Earlier, when addressing the Indian Council of World Affairs in Delhi, he pleased and surprised a large audience by declaring that while SEATO "may concern itself with us and give us protection," his country, on the other hand, had "nothing to do" with SEATO, and had contracted no military obligation under it.

The mutual cordiality displayed during this visit was a far cry from the reception given to Indian members of the International Commission in Saigon in 1954 and 1955. The later visits there of Nehru and Vice-President Radhakrishnan and the painstaking diplomacy of Indian representatives have slowly built up an atmosphere of friendly tolerance. Possibly the new climate of Asian nationalism that goes under the name of the "Bandung spirit" has made its contribution to the new cordiality. The warm-heartedness of the Indian people, which so moved Bulganin and Khrushchev, also touched a chord in President Diem.

The visit, coming before that of the other Vietnamese President, Ho Chi Minh, has been a most desirable development for both Saigon and New Delhi. Should the reception given by the Indians to President Ho be even warmer, it will not now be taken as in any way a slight to President Diem. Though no one has ventured to prophesy that Diem's visit to India may have augmented the chances of bringing the two Vietnams closer together, there has certainly been nothing in it to have the opposite effect. The goodwill between India and South Vietnam can only serve to strengthen Asian nationalism.

### No change in the Philippines

**T**HE general economic malaise of the Philippines is not likely to be overcome with the re-election of Carlos P. Garcia to the Presidency, nor is the cleaning up of corruption in the administration likely to be undertaken with the same vigour by the new President as it was by the late Ramon Magsaysay. In the field of foreign affairs President Garcia will continue to follow the American line.

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The country is on the threshold of economic ruin with its currency fantastically overvalued, while the sugar millionaires and other wealthy classes get richer at the expense of the underprivileged. This seems to be a state of affairs that cannot go on indefinitely without trouble, even in a country like the Philippines which has developed from a one-time colonial status with less of the violent political stresses and strains that have characterised development in other Asian countries.

The Philippines was not without its postwar hangover, in the shape of the Hukbalahap. This Communist-dominated insurgent organisation was too much like a bandit horde for it to gain much support, and President Magsaysay's success over it was as much due to his cleaning up of the Government and Army as to military operations. People, in their depressed state, were ready to believe that he had an alternative to offer. His untimely death in an aircraft crash has restored power to those elements in business and politics whose obstructionist tendencies he was having the utmost difficulty in trying to overcome. It would seem to outside observers that the present political leaders in the country, particularly those of the Nacionalista Party, have not got the solution of social problems at heart. On the economic level President Garcia thinks in terms of a large American loan, but this will do nothing to ease the situation so long as he continues the negative policies with which he has been identified since he took the reins of office after Magsaysay's death.

The question inevitably arises of why he should have been re-elected President if he is as ineffectual as he seems. Parties as rich as the Nacionalistas and the Liberals (the other main party) do not turn aside from using funds to buy votes, and observers of the recent election have commented how openly this malpractice was performed. This behaviour is, tragically, what democracy means to many people in the world.

Indicative, perhaps, of the growing awareness in the Philippines of the desirability for "clean" government and for social reforms was the high vote recorded for Manuel Manahan, presidential candidate of the recently formed Progressive Party. This party, dedicated to Magsaysay ideals, managed to rally enough support, without the aid of large funds and with little organisation, to secure third place for Manahan out of the five candidates. This success has given the leaders of the Progressive Party heart, and there is no doubt that they will find fertile ground for their ideas as time goes on, but no group would find it easy to loosen the political hold of those in Manila who are fast earning themselves the dubious title of playboys of the East.

### Clouded Mirror

IT is regrettable that the leading article in the August (Merdeka) issue of EASTERN WORLD, called "Merdeka and After," should have so much upset the Malayan Chinese Association. It was the intention of this magazine, through its leading article, to analyse some of the difficulties that will confront the new Malayan nation in the first years of independence; and one of the most outstanding difficulties, it seems to us, lies in encouraging the majority of Malayan Chinese not only to support the general idea of independence for its own sake, but of enlisting their support and trust for the Government in its task of building up the country

in the near future. In this respect we repeat that the MCA, which is one of the parties of the governing Alliance, does not, because its leadership is, in the main, in the hands of the comfortable commercial and privileged classes, enjoy the confidence of the majority of urban Chinese, a great many of whom are disenfranchised.

It was this sort of argument and a statement about growing dissatisfaction among some Malayan Chinese because the fruits of independence were being shared unequally, contained in the August issue of this magazine, which occasioned a bitter attack in a front page editorial in the MCA's organ, *Malayan Mirror*, on September 30, on EASTERN WORLD and its editor personally.

We could not, we suppose, expect the MCA to take kindly to our criticism, especially as they are proud of being the only political organisation of the Chinese in Malaya. The *Mirror* editorial says the MCA resents the attempt made by EASTERN WORLD to divide the Chinese in Malaya. The reasoning, unfortunately, is clouded, for our view was, and is, the opposite. We desire to see the sense of purpose of Malayan Chinese coordinated. The MCA should be the very organisation around which all the Chinese in the country ought to rally. But the fact is that at the moment they do not.

Many of the urban Chinese are disinterested and disillusioned by their status. (By urban we mean that majority of Chinese who live in the towns and who are therefore close enough to political matters to make them highly conscious of rights and wrongs). Disillusionment with the state of affairs is not healthy for the future of Malaya, and the fact that this unorganised section of the community is for the moment largely inarticulate should not lull the MCA into a sense of satisfaction that all is well. The MCA must surely recognise that it does not represent the Chinese in Malaya in the same way as the United Malay National Organisation represents the Malays.

The *Malayan Mirror* was hurt and surprised by what they called "a reflection on the sense of responsibility of the Alliance party" in our leading article. We said that signs were apparent some time ago of certain leading members of the Alliance looking towards Merdeka as the time for a share out of comfortable ambassadorial and other jobs, and we commented that at the time these signs were apparent they did not give much cause for confidence. Fortunately, those early signs have not, up to now, come to anything. But that such ideas were at one time current, and certain statements made which justify our comment, are not figments of a fertile imagination. Furthermore, our remarks were not printed for any other reason than to show how much more of a sense of responsibility men must acquire when they leave the ideal of independence for the realities of government.

Of the *Malayan Mirror's* ill-mannered personal attack upon the editor of this journal nothing need be said, except that the reasoning seemed to be the product of an entirely unnecessary bad conscience by the MCA.

The reaction of the MCA is a sad reflection on what criticism can do, for it should be recalled that when Tunku Rahman (representing UMNO) and T. H. Tan (for the MCA) first came to London some years ago to put their case for independence before the British Colonial Secretary, it was this magazine that befriended them, embraced their cause, and unstintingly placed practical facilities at their disposal.

J.W.T.C.

## United States—Japan

# ALLIANCE IN TRANSITION

*By Mabel M. Smythe*

THE ambivalence of the Japanese towards the United States—a sense of community of interests and need for American support, coupled with resentment of American influence traceable to the existence of economic and diplomatic ties—has been compounded by recent events. Reactions to the desegregation of schools in the United States, the Girard case, and atomic developments have all combined to confuse the feelings of the average Japanese citizen.

The process of desegregating schools in the southern part of the United States has received wide attention in Japanese newspapers and magazines, and there has been wide circulation in popular media of photographs of anti-Negro demonstrations in Little Rock, Arkansas; Nashville, Tennessee; and Birmingham, Alabama. While English-language newspapers in some cases compared American anti-Negro prejudice to the discrimination of Japanese against the Eta or Ainu in Japan, the tone in Japanese-language publications was largely critical. Some observers judged the reaction of the Japanese as returning to earlier suspicions that Americans had contempt for them, too, as non-white people, a feeling encouraged by Japanese propaganda during World War II and not entirely discarded. There has been a tendency for



newspapers to retell earlier incidents involving United States service personnel which tend to support the view that Americans are prejudiced against non-whites. Through the desegregation crisis, considerable damage has been done to American goodwill and prestige, especially since many Japanese readers erroneously assume that the Arkansas reports depict typical American views on race.

The importance of the trial of US Army Specialist 3/c William S. Girard in a Japanese court (on a manslaughter charge) has been exaggerated until it has come to be a complex symbol of many sore spots between the two nations. For one thing, the combination of the Girard case and the Arkansas incident suggested to many Japanese that Girard might have taken the life of a Japanese woman as lightly as Americans were presumed to take the life of Negroes. For another, the case symbolised the burdens incurred by the presence of foreign troops on Japanese soil. For still another, jurisdiction in the hands of the Japanese court symbolised Japanese jealousy of their national sovereignty. At the same time, the United States did not wish to appear to insist upon extraterritoriality or to be slow to recognise the importance

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of respecting the persons and property of their foreign hosts. Nevertheless, American critics pointed out that the legal basis for jurisdiction was far from clear; Girard was actually on duty at the time of the alleged offence, and the treaty between Japan and the United States, upon which court jurisdiction is based, provides for Japanese jurisdiction over service personnel who are not on duty at the time of the action upon which a complaint rests. At the same time, the Japanese court has been aware of the necessity for scrupulous fairness, since there has been so much American opposition to this part of the treaty terms. Nevertheless, there may yet come from this unfortunate case a residue of respect and understanding on both sides.

The Japanese have continued to oppose firmly any further nuclear tests, as the Foreign Minister, Mr. Aichiyo Fujiyama, made it clear in a speech before the United Nations General Assembly in September. It is interesting to note that shortly afterward, when he spent four days in the United Kingdom, consulting with the Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, an important part of their discussions dealt with Japan's hope that nuclear tests by Britain might be discontinued. The Foreign Secretary stated that Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to agree to the suspension of tests if this were part of an international disarmament agreement along the lines of recent western proposals; otherwise freedom to continue such testing would be essential to national security.

The Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Nobusuke Kishi, heads a conservative government which has sometimes been severely criticised. His own record as a member of the Tojo cabinet, albeit a dissenting one, along with such official acts as his appointment of the chief of the old "thought police" as Minister of Justice, has necessarily raised a number of progressive eyebrows. So far, his economic policies seem to be sound approaches to the difficult problems facing the Japanese economy. On the other fronts, his policies are somewhat more difficult to assess.

In the international sphere, the Asian Development Fund, designed to expand Japan's export markets and promote economic cooperation in South-East Asia, has met with suspicion, partly because of the prewar Japan-sponsored Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and its aftermath of exploitation and war. Nevertheless, the Kishi Government is committed to promoting this area of economic development, if for no other reason than that there are few parts of the world which present feasible opportunities for expanding Japan's trade. Thus Mr. Kishi suggested in a speech in the United States not only that Japan help South-East Asia, but that "the free world be prepared to extend aid and cooperation to those countries on the footing of equality with the single purpose of promoting peace and progress." Dollar aid from the United States would be required for this purpose. A joint statement issued by Kishi and Mr. Nehru of India on the occasion of the latter's visit to Japan in early October affirmed plans for economic cooperation and desire for increased understanding between the two. They agreed upon Japan's cooperating with India's second five-

year plan in the form of yen credit to pay for Japanese-made capital goods, and they discussed possible plans for exchanging teachers, students, artists, and motion pictures. Extension of this kind of agreement to other Asian nations is expected to loosen the ties of economic dependency upon the United States.

The Prime Minister controls a substantial majority in the Diet at present, but without a strongly united party he finds it difficult to keep the socialist opposition from chipping away at his influence, as they did when bitter socialist criticism marred his visit to the United States in the summer. Meanwhile, Mr. Fujiyama sees Japan as having reached a turning point in postwar diplomacy, which enables her to "pursue a truly independent diplomatic policy." He has needed to make much of this independence, to satisfy criticism at home; on the other hand, he admits that

"... the keynote of (Japan's) diplomatic policy lies, of course, in cooperating with the nations of the Free World. It is only natural, therefore, that Japan should work closely with the United States, whose basic interests most closely coincide with her own. Japan's diplomacy must stem from this basic concept."

"At the same time, diplomacy is something that is often governed by the environment in which a country is placed, by its political and economic conditions, and by its geographical position . . ."

"In spite of the division of the world into two camps, I think that coexistence between countries having different ideologies and systems of government is possible . . ."

When the Foreign Minister visited the United States in September, on the same journey which took him before the United Nations General Assembly, a major part of his public utterances dealt with US-Japanese trade relations and their undeniable importance to Japan. Having brought the point of view of a distinguished businessman to the task of promoting Japan's interests in the international sphere, he obviously views his functions in primarily economic terms. In an address before the New York Japan Society in September, Mr. Fujiyama stressed the vital importance of avoiding tightened restrictions on Japanese goods entering the United States. The Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, hastened to assure him that the United States would help Japan expand her world trade, while finding it difficult to



be specific, with a number of domestic producers complaining of the increasing danger of Japanese competition.

This is not an academic problem. Japan has had to restrict imports and tighten credit in an attempt to reduce the imbalance between imports and exports. It was necessary for Japan to borrow from the United States to close the gap temporarily, while other measures were being devised. To make matters worse, the withdrawal of United States armed

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forces in Japan, to be completed by the end of this year, will remove a substantial source of dollar exchange, since these Americans and their families account for an expenditure of a sum which has recently been estimated as \$100 million a year (one estimate placed it at four times this amount). The magnitude of this figure, placed against the dollar gap indicated by an estimated excess of imports over exports for fiscal 1957 of \$390 million, indicates the disastrous effect upon those Japanese employees and businessmen who have depended heavily upon Americans for employment and patronage. Moreover, the emphasis upon restricting consumption to keep imports more in line with exports must necessarily discourage domestic producers who will feel the pinch along with importers. This is making domestic producers especially sensitive to foreign competition: in September the Emperor's staff were criticised for purchasing a British motor car for the use of the Imperial family and state guests, and not too long before, the Prime Minister was criticised for using an American Chrysler instead of a Japanese-made car.

News of the economy is not all pessimistic. Japanese farms are now producing twice as much as they did before the war, and the population is better fed in both quantity and quality. Morale is relatively high, and the economy appears to be resilient enough to absorb at least some of the shock of the adjustments occasioned by the departure of American forces.

Two ways in which Japan has been attempting to build up her economy have already been mentioned: first, through a dispersal of export markets throughout the world and, second, through the above-mentioned increased economic collaboration throughout South-East Asia. In the first of these she has felt hampered by the growth of economic regionalism, as in the Western European Common Market system, which leaves her to cling to the dollar area. In the second, her relations with the Republic of Korea and the Philippines are far from cordial, and other Asian nations suspect the kind of leadership which, twenty years ago, paved the way to war. These barriers to a new and more independent solution to Japan's economic problems would seem to necessitate continued close ties with the United States, which has demonstrated the will to cooperate in the attainment of greater economic and political strength and stability for Japan, coupled with a willingness to accept her increasing self-determination. But a stable link between Japan's industrial power and markets which need her products, and which need not be buttressed by the United States or any artificial scheme of support, has yet to be devised.

# USSR Stacking Cards in S.E. ASIA

By Mary Holdsworth

MUCH thought has gone into the Soviet approach to South-East Asian countries in recent years, and this has not been ousted by the more arresting Sino-Soviet and Indo-Soviet relations. In Soviet eyes, it seems that the importance of limited, local strategies is enhanced rather than diminished as near equilibrium is approached in the Communist-Western balance of power. South-East Asia is the largest "non-committed" area, and the most distant from western influence; the increasing appearance of the phrase "Afro-Asian opinion" is indicative of its climb into prominence.

Soviet leaders have not found their task easy or uniform. They are tackling the individual objectives systematically and do not neglect those seemingly innocuous approaches which are often the only ones open to them. Certain readjustments have been needed at home and these at times are the first indications of what is being done outside.

"Colonialism" and "Imperialism" are still evocative words. For obvious reasons, they have had to be presented in modern dress, and today the tireless and ponderous propaganda machine repeats "collective colonialism" or "grip of capitalist monopolies" through all its sounding boards. But behind it there is some new thinking as well as the beginnings of factual research into the economic problems of underdeveloped territories. For political indoctrination phrases about monopolies in ex-colonial territories sound plausible, (everyone knows that Lenin's "Imperialism" was something about monopolies and finance capital, but few in the modern generation know quite what); but more serious re-examination of contemporary applicability of Lenin's positions is being done<sup>1</sup>. Factual research into problems of underdevelopment is urged in the journal of Soviet Oriental Studies<sup>2</sup> and the fact that in 1955, 1956 and 1957 this two-monthly journal has contained 13 articles on quite narrow economic subjects of India and South-East Asian countries shows in which direction research is considered profitable. In semi-popular articles in the daily and weekly press, Lenin's discussions of the peasant in the Marxist revolution appear increasingly. This fits in with the Lenin cult, and the anniversary celebrations, as well as with the special problem of Sino-Soviet ideological solidarity. Its relevance to South-East Asian countries has not been overlooked.

In July 1956 on the occasion of Prince Norodom's visit to the USSR, Buddhist priests were among the dignitaries who met him. It is safe to say that it was very many years since they had appeared in a place of honour in the Soviet press. The Kalmyks, the only Buddhists in the European part of the USSR, were returned to their homeland on the lower Volga in January 1957 at the same time as the five North Caucasian Muslim minorities, who had been deported between 1940-1944 and whose genocide had been one of the indictments in Mr. Khruschev's secret exposition of Stalin at the XXth Congress. There has been no mention of reinstatement of Volga Germans, of nationals of the Baltic Republics, Western Ukraine or of Koenigsberg while all except one (Crimean Tatars) of the Muslim minorities have been repatriated. Throughout this year the Kalmyks have been

punctiliosely featured as taking part in the government and cultural affairs of the RSFSR. A French observer<sup>3</sup> has argued, with substantial support, that M. Bagirov (First Secretary, Azerbaijan, close associate of Beria's) was finally executed (after nearly 3½ years in prison) as a scapegoat during the current condemnation of anti-Muslim (as distinct from anti-nationalist) activities. The contribution which this Muslim communities in the USSR have consistently been called upon to make to the World Peace Council need not be commented. Though Soviet leaders are not alone in playing on men's deepest beliefs to further their own purposes, it is not an edifying spectacle.

Soviet diplomacy has made great play of the fundamental principles of non-interference. Though these were first formulated by the Prime Minister of Burma at Bandung in 1955, by dint of their constant repetition at every contact with an Asian state, Soviet leaders have almost created the impression that they are specific to themselves. This is not only to create a gulf in men's minds between the country dedicated to peaceful coexistence and differing roads to Socialism and the bloc of imperialist aggressors, but also between it and the memories of the country which created the Comintern and turned it to its own ends. The order of the day is to woo each country to something more positive than neutrality or, where necessary, away from antipathetic Awareness of religious loyalties, appreciation of the situation of the moment must prevent the disaster of 1927 to Communism in China, the misconceptions and fumblings vis à vis Congress in India in the forties. Awareness of the vigour of Buddhism in modern Burma and of the stumbling block proved to all three Communist parties in Ceylon, of the strength of the Muslim Masjumi in Indonesia, have hastened the polishing of Soviet Muslim and Buddhist shop windows in the hopes that people will forget that not three years ago the Soviet Communist Party ordered lectures on the harmful effects of religions throughout history, and thus instructed its youth leaders:

"In organising anti-religious propaganda among pupils we must remember that it is not our task to bring up passive atheists. We need militant materialists, and our task is to bring up pupils in the spirit of being active advocates of advanced science."

The USSR's backing of Sukarno and championship of Indonesia's claim to West Irian (this was the burden of Marshall Voroshilov's speeches during his visit in May) has paid dividends in helping substantially to increase the Communist vote on the assumption that it was a vote for the President's party.

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin of Leningrad University, *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, 1956, No. 4, N. A. Arkhipov: "The Imperialist struggle for spheres of capital investment after World War II." (in Russian)

<sup>2</sup> Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie, to which members of the Leningrad Oriental Institute contribute, whose work is becoming steadily more interesting.

<sup>3</sup> H. Carrère d'Encausse: "La destalinisation dans l'Islam soviétique." *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, 1957, No. 37.

<sup>4</sup> A. Dallin: *German Rule in Russia*, 1941-45. A study in occupation policies, London, 1957. cf. the chapter on the Church.

<sup>5</sup> Leninskoe Znamya, 8.10.1953.

Within the USSR the republican capitals, particularly Tashkent as the airport from Asia, are increasingly used on the visits of heads of states and delegations. An Asian republic's first secretary or prime minister always accompanies "top level" Soviet delegations. In one week last July in Moscow President Ho Chi Minh visited Vietnamese children in a pioneer holiday camp; 18 heads of embassies "hand missions" of Bandung countries give a dinner at the First Afghan Embassy for HM the King of Afghanistan and the Soviet leaders; Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo told a press conference that there was every possibility to widen and strengthen Soviet-Indonesian relations; an Indian military mission completed its work; Nepal journalists were shown to be the city. In the meanwhile a group of Pakistani ulema visited Tashkent and Stalingrad as guests of the Mufti of Ufa and played a Central Asian purpose.

The USSR officially took up aid to underdeveloped countries in July, 1953, and by the end of 1956 only \$5 million has been contributed to the UN Technical Aid programme. The USSR trade outside the Soviet orbit has been increasing and now stands as a quarter of the total. Of this, about  $\frac{1}{3}$  is with "underdeveloped" countries and  $\frac{1}{3}$  in S.E. Asia (its turnover is around \$800 million). In 1956, about 90 trade agreements were made with Asian countries and included credits to India, Afghanistan, Indonesia and negotiations this October with Pakistan. Several of the agreements stipulated that orders for complete industrial plants had to be placed within the Soviet bloc; actually Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany rather than the Soviet Union often supply the plant and equipment. The export of personnel, however, is probably of real benefit; the Soviet Union is able to provide it, not only because of the government's phenomenal powers of labour direction, but also because of the strong bias towards technical subjects in secondary and senior education.

The Soviet Union tends to buy on barter agreements what tropical primary producing countries have to sell; the deal in Burma surplus rice in November, 1955, extended in April, 1956 to 400,000 tons a year, the plans for buying Ceylon medium- and low-grade teas (May, 1957) are examples. Though the volume of these exchanges often forms only a small proportion of the established trade of the countries concerned with their old markets, they are new, and it is easy to make political capital out of them since primary producers' fear of slumps (Ceylon's tea is 53 percent of her total exports, rice 90 percent of Burma's) dies hard.

Before leaving the subject, two factors need comment. First, the USSR's own calls on her resources have high priority, at present enhanced rather than otherwise by the long-neglected claims of agriculture and housing. Secondly, several Asian countries, notably Burma, desire consumer goods, which is precisely what the USSR cannot supply.

Nearly all the economic agreements contain provision for Russian training of technicians, either in higher institutions in the USSR (mainly Moscow and Tashkent) or by the establishment of a Technical College in the country itself, as in Rangoon or Kabul. How to stop youth from being young is one of the unsolved problems of the Communist regime and in some ways the Soviet approach to Asian youth may prove the weakest link in the chain of Asian penetration.

On the face of it, the Communist Front youth organisation—the WFDY—is in its hey-day. It can mount vast and enthusiastic congresses and it ascribes exclusively to itself—with some success chiefly because two few voices contradict it—perfection in race relations. Where it can appeal to the generous, the daring, the iconoclast, it can recruit wide and sincere support. But as soon as individuals realise that Communism, once established, requires of youth only conformity, group reaction, intellectual blinkers and a good physique, then its hold is cracked. This dilemma is already confronting Communist leaders at some points in regard to Asian youth. It would be interesting to compare, for instance, the number and calibre of Asian politics or history students now at Moscow or other Universities in the USSR, with that at the People's University of the Toilers of the East in the twenties. It may be easier and safer to organise a "solidarity against colonial slavery" evening at the Moscow Youth Festival attended by 12,000, than to have enquiring young Asian intellectuals studying for two years in Leningrad. Young technicians and craftsmen, to whom the Soviet Union has genuinely something to give, may prove a safer investment. The above conjectures do not mean that the subversive activities carried on by the student affiliations of the WFDY in Burma, Malaya (including both the Federation and Singapore), Cambodia, South Viet Nam and Indonesia, have slackened. But in gauging Moscow's long-term plans, one is struck here by sterility and faltering rather than by successful encroachment.

The WFTU's "theses" for the Fourth Congress in October devoted a section to the "Struggle against colonialism and international labour solidarity." These purport to draw the attention of trades unions in underdeveloped and colonial territories to the new forms of colonial exploitation—the European market, the Eisenhower doctrine, and French terrorism in Algeria. The Soviet guiding hand and immense predominance in membership is particularly carefully disguised; the slogan of working-class solidarity and a well produced and informative journal make the WFTU an effective means of swaying labour opinion in situations where industry's early evils are not tackled or forestalled and child and sweated labour, slums, and miserable pay prevail. Only definite attitudes and other loyalties give an effective alternative; such has been the case in recent developments in French West African trades unions. Accurate information from South-East Asia is hard to get. An effort to create a regional organisation based on the Bandung powers has so far failed. Its biggest affiliation is SOBSI in Indonesia, which claims a membership of over 2½ million and its secretary, following the party line, in May last declared the organisation's support of President Sukarno's emergency measures.

One of the "Fortieth Anniversary Theses" (published on four pages in *Pravda* on 15 September, reads:

"The efforts of imperialist countries to halt the dissolution of the colonial system by various methods—from colonial wars against freedom loving peoples of Asia and Africa to interference in the affairs of sovereign nations under the guise of economic and military 'aid'—cannot halt the march of history or prevent the certain wreck of the colonial set-up."

Systematic misrepresentation on this issue is thus still integral to Soviet official policy. It would be a lasting loss to both the West and to Asia if a false estrangement were to be conjured up and for that reason it is perhaps useful at times to look up the sleeves of the conjuror.

<sup>1</sup> W.K. "The Economic Setting," *Soviet Survey*, June, 1957.  
<sup>2</sup> World Federation of Trade Unions. Communist controlled since 1949.

## JAPAN'S CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE

THE echo of the atomic explosions in Japan, the humiliation of defeat and the economic distress which characterised the atmosphere in Japan immediately after the war, released powerful humanitarian and pacific forces within the Japanese nation which for centuries had been suppressed by ruling cliques and mediaeval traditions. It was, and still is, the realisation that war does not pay which motivated the Japanese desire to steer clear of any future conflicts and which found expression in their new Constitution in November, 1946. As—at that time—it was the aim of the Allied Powers to break Japan's military elements once and for all, this outstandingly pacific constitution met with the full support and approval of the occupation authorities. In addition to an idealistic Preamble, which pledges the Japanese people to strive for peace, banish tyranny and slavery, fear and want, the Constitution also contains, in Article nine, a solemn renunciation of war. It reads:

"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

"In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding

paragraph, land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognised."

In the course of time, this constitutional proviso became inconvenient to the Americans who wished to draw Japan within the orbit of the military defence zone against Communism, and also to Japan's rejuvenated reactionary circles which require an armed Japan to regain their former influence. General MacArthur, therefore, agreed to a compromise by which not armed forces, but a "self-defence force" was created in 1954. This, however, is not satisfactory in the eyes of certain Japanese industrialists who hope to benefit by a large-scale armaments programme, nor to those who think that Japan's international status will remain inferior as long as she cannot command her own forces equipped with modern weapons. For this reason there has been strong agitation within the country to amend the Constitution for which, however, a two-thirds majority would be required. As the Socialists, who occupy over one third of the seats in the Diet, are against any constitutional revision, Japan's exemplary Constitution has, so far, been preserved.

H.C.T.

## THE PACIFISTIC CONSTITUTION OF JAPAN

By Shinobu Tabata (Kyoto)

THE Constitution of Japan lays a vitally important stress on the peace-loving principle clearly expressed in the introduction and also most distinctly specifies the pacifistic principle in Article 9. From this it can easily be gathered that the war-renouncing principle of the Constitution of Japan is infallibly rooted in the idea of non-resistance — though this does not always mean that we have given up the right of self-defence relying on political or diplomatic measures. Needless to say, the right of self-defence relying on political or diplomatic means is greatly different from the same right by means of the enforcement of military power, but in the highly civilised international society of today, usually they are found to be more powerful from the view-point of international law.

Now it should be remembered here that the war-renouncing principle is the backbone of the constitution



Prof. Shinobu Tabata, who teaches at the Law College of Doshisha University, Kyoto, is one of Japan's leading authorities on constitutional problems. He is convinced that an amendment of the Japanese Constitution will again play into the hands of the militarists and will rob her of a chance of becoming a moral force in Asia

running through the whole structure, as we believe in Pacifism as a noble criterion of settling human affairs, earnestly desiring to establish international peace and the renunciation of war all over the world. And of course this is the result of Japan's sincere self-reflection on the militarism and ultra-nationalism that once dominated Japan. Putting this in other words, the then Premier Baron Shidehara, firmly determined to bring into politics this tidal-wave-like, nation-wide resolution to establish peace at any cost, made up his mind to take the concrete steps to form a war-renouncing constitution, which determination was supported by Gen. MacArthur, the then Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces. Indeed, our war-renouncing constitution is the very product of this unprecedented unique cooperation. There are some who believe, rightly or wrongly, that the present constitution has been imposed upon us by the Allied Powers as conquerors. Be this as it may, the fact still remains that it was the greatest contribution ever made to our country by the Allied authorities.

In 1954 — eight years after the proclamation of the constitution — the Security Forces were strengthened into the Self-Defence Forces, in accordance with the MSA Mutual Aid Agreement. It is these two factors, the conclusion of the MSA agreement and the establishment of the Self-Defence Forces, that completely destroyed the true aim of the Constitution of Japan, its fundamental principle having been shaken up through and through.

The Self-Defence Forces were established with a view to defend the country against direct aggression, so basically speaking it is of a militaristic nature, being a preparation against war, and also to keep order at home. Thus it can be seen that the constitution of the self-defence army can be

traced back to two sources: the American MSA policies and the reactionary policy of the Japanese government.

The Constitution of Japan was mainly based upon the Potsdam Declaration, the earnest desire of the people for peace having seriously been taken into consideration. Of course the fundamental and intrinsic principle of the constitution consists in the three corner-stones, Republicanism, Democracy, and Pacifism. Of these three, Democracy and Republicanism have been most widely adopted into the constitutions of all countries. But as for Pacifism, it has not been so widely adopted. Thus the greatest characteristic feature of the Constitution of Japan consists in its Pacificistic principle. Accordingly we can safely conclude that the historical character of the Constitution of Japan must reasonably be defined as being rooted in the pacifistic principle and it is on account of this character that the Constitution of Japan is called "war renouncing."

The republicanism upheld by the Constitution of Japan is anything but perfect, as can easily be seen when compared with that maintained by other nations, and in connection with this, it may be said that the democratic principle of the Constitution of Japan is also far from being perfect. Regarding this point, our constitution is more progressive than the American or British constitutions — at least in some way; But compared with the constitutions of socialist nations — such as those of the USSR and the Peoples' Republic of China — especially as regards the articles defining the rights of living, our constitution falls far short of the mark. Judging from this, neither republicanism nor the democratic principle can be looked upon as a historically outstanding characteristic feature of the Constitution of Japan.

For all these short-comings, however, the Constitution of Japan is the only one that completely renounces war and war-potential of any kind. The rest of the constitutions that admit the sustenance of military forces may be understood as standing — frankly speaking — below guaranteeing the fundamental rights of living and the happiness of the people in general. Of course it goes without saying that armament can only be prepared at the costly expense of the people and that war can never be prosecuted without restricting to the greatest extent the fundamental human rights that should aim at respecting a man's life and freedom. Yet, in some cases, we are compelled to give up all these rights; moreover in cases more imminent, the life of the nation itself may completely be destroyed.

From this it may be concluded that any constitution that guarantees the right of belligerency is not a highly developed democratic constitution in the highest sense of the word. In other words, a constitution which is not based upon genuine pacifism can not — as a rule — guarantee the fundamental human rights to the full. A highly developed cultural state or a true democratic nation cannot be founded except on the corner-stones of genuine pacifism. The constitutions of France, Italy, West Germany, Siam, and South Korea have partially renounced war. And in the 20th century, international law prohibits an aggressive, or imperialistic war, but it does not renounce punitive war. In this respect, the Constitution of Japan may be said to be supremely high and most progressive in its quintessence.

The golden thread of the "Pacificistic Principle" runs through the Constitution of Japan, and speaking from this

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view-point, it is undoubtedly the most epoch-making one in the world. Indeed not only does it contribute much to making Japan a peaceful country but also it is most significant as symbolising the inevitability and possibility for the whole world to change from War to Peace at a certain stage of world history motivated by the advent of atomic power.

If the whole world, of course including Japan, would take firmer steps in cooperating more closely by supporting the pacifistic principle of the Constitution of Japan and by going further in establishing non-armament zones all over the world, the international tension now prevailing would be much alleviated and by just so much the reign of peace would be brought nearer.

On the other hand, if such policies as are running counter and contrary to the pacifistic principle of Japan are to be enforced whether by the Japanese government or by any other power, the wheel of history will be made to run backwards, thus impeding the progress of history, which, I should say, will act against the enhancement of the happiness of humanity. This can easily be understood when we see that those who attack the pacifistic principle of the Constitution of Japan — both at home and abroad — are all admirers of militarism and ultra-nationalists. Those who will pay serious consideration to the historical significance of the pacifistic principle of the Constitution of Japan can hardly fail to understand clearly that the protection of the war-renouncing constitution will surely result in a great advantage not only for Japan alone but also for America, Asia and Europe in the conclusive and most important sense of the word. In this way, the Constitution of Japan will contribute most vitally to the happiness and prosperity of the whole world. Indeed, we should not lose sight of the perfect agreement existing equally among the peace-loving spirit of the UN Charter, the five peace-principles agreed upon between Nehru and Chou En-lai, and the pacifistic principle of the Constitution of Japan.

Thus those who have been trying to force Japan to rearm are the enemy of humanity and those who have been seconding the plan of rearming Japan are exposing their terrible ignorance regarding the progress of history. History itself distinctly shows how important it is to respect the various principles of peace. The future destiny of the world, whether war or peace, depends entirely upon the problem of rearmament. It would be a great mistake to justify a rearmed Japan.

# The Tragedy of the Korean Aid Programme

By *Bernard Llewellyn*

**O**NLY a rash man would claim to know the whole truth about the Korean aid programmes; but I think it is true to say that some aspect of these programmes are over-emphasised while others are seldom mentioned at all. Yet the magnitude of these programmes and the likelihood of Korea's dependence on foreign aid for years to come make it important that some of the least publicised aspects should be brought to light.

However much one may dislike some of the things which seem to be inevitable byproducts of huge aid programmes, aid to the impoverished countries of the world is both right and necessary. At home we approve the idea that taxation should be used to do away with some of the grosser inequalities between rich and poor; and in the family of nations if the "haves" refuse to help the "have nots," the latter will never be helped at all. The richer have a duty and a responsibility, and in the decade or so since the war the Americans in particular have poured millions of dollars into the coasts and hinterlands of Asia. They have soaked into the landscape; often it seems without a trace. And all the time eager hands are outstretched for more.

Of gratitude there appears little. But then those who are obligated to others seldom feel happy about it. Their spokesmen, of course, make the appropriate noises from time to time and suitable resolutions are passed; but the multitudes take the aid for granted. And there are always the cynics to remind us that the dollars have strings attached, and that the East is a magnificent dumping ground for goods

which would only clutter up the markets of the West. "In any case," they say, "nations only help other nations when they can help themselves at the same time."

Korea, argue the Koreans, is a special case. The United States is paying for her mistake in allowing the Communist armies to retain their hold on North Korea. Russia has reaped a quick return for her declaration of war on Japan in the last days of World War II. She had hastily occupied Manchuria and crossed the border into North Korea. American and Russian leaders agreed to divide the country along the 38th Parallel. It was no idea of the Koreans. And ever since then, the Koreans maintain, the Americans have been generously paying for their excessive optimism believing the division would be short-lived. They paid blood when they fought back against the Communist onslaught of 1950; and they have paid generously in aid ever since. They have recognised their share of responsibility for what happened; and they have never sought to evade payment.

Since the Armistice of 1953, the United States has buttressed the Korean economy and defence programme with funds averaging 750 million dollars a year. Less than half this amount has been spent on economic aid. These joint aid programmes have,

"resulted in a manifest contribution to the war-shattered economy. More food, clothing, coal and consumer goods are now on sale. Electric power is more abundant. Transportation services have improved. Mineral output has generally increased. Industrial production is rising steadily. Health and educational facilities are vastly improved. There are many more homes. Even hitherto bare hillsides have covers of young trees. . . ."

Thus the Agent-General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency in his report to the Eleventh General Assembly of the United Nations. And it is all true.

And again — this from the Korean Reconstruction Minister early this year:

"Largely due to American economic aid, Korean industry is being rehabilitated and parts have advanced beyond prewar levels. Today with American aid, Korea is maintaining a defence force of one million men, and is the strongest power in the Far East aligned with the United States and the Free World against Communist aggression. That is true too. But it is only part of the picture."

The purpose of economic aid to needy countries — as distinct from relief — is to enable countries receiving it to be economically self-supporting within a defined period of time.

The particular trouble with the Korean aid programme is that it has been so enormous and so motivated politically that it has brought out some of the worst features of aid. Too much too quickly has brought about the usual problems of indigestion, corruption, and a weakening of self-reliance. The Koreans have been anaesthetised by aid. They know that however inefficiently the aid materials are used the Americans will continue to pour in the stuff. The flood will not stop so long as the Korean resolve to stem the Com-



TB Sanatorium in Korea. One of the lucky children whom aid does reach  
(Photograph by the author)

munist tide is reiterated at constant intervals. There is nothing particularly subtle about American foreign policy in Asia, and anyone with a powerful voice and a supply of the appropriate cliches will make a suitable spokesman.

The tendency is to request the aid agencies for anything you think you may be able to get, irrespective of whether you can use it properly or not; while frequently agencies make distributions of equipment and supplies before the recipient is properly able to use them. This may be due to the need to clear the warehouses to make room for incoming supplies, or to the need to spend funds within a certain fiscal year. A Korean hospital I know requested a lawn-mower, cinema projector and a host of specialised surgical instruments none of its doctors were capable of using in addition to its more straightforward requests. American ambulances were made available to the Ministry of Health and Provincial Health Ministries for distribution to hospitals. Few patients ever rode in them; most became staff runabouts.

In Korean markets it is impossible to distinguish between the stolen aid goods and those legitimately on the stalls. "Free Gift NOT to be sold" is prominently marked on many of the tins and packets offered for sale. In Seoul you heard talk of many scandals connected with one aid programme or another. It reminded me of Chungking and Shanghai when UNRRA goods were flooding into the China of Chiang Kai-shek.

I knew the medical programme better than most. The country was chronically short of nurses and government hospitals had pitifully poor standards. Yet there seemed more interest in the erection of new hospital buildings than in making sure the ones they already had were fully utilised. The chronic shortage of TB beds in Korea was well known; but little attempt was made to use the beds they did have

efficiently. Patients remained for years at a time because they were more comfortable in the sanatoria than in their own homes. It seemed to many of us that those responsible for the aid programmes should have insisted on a better use of existing resources before adding to them. Expensive anti-biotic drugs were put in the hands of doctors ill-equipped to prescribe them. Penicillin would be injected for a cold or a pimple, and usually at the request of the patient. There was always plenty more in the warehouse. Such waste is heart-breaking. It will continue so long as the flood continues.

"Americans, DON'T go home!" cry the Koreans. They are the great sugar-daddies. From the snotty-nosed kids who cry in the streets "chewing gum! Give us presents!" to the minister behind his desk to the flashy orphanage director to the generals clamouring for more up-to-date equipment, the cry is for more and more. At least five more years of aid are expected. A generation is growing up which has discovered that the easiest way of getting something is to ask the Americans for it. And if I were a Korean, I've no doubt I should do the same.

I said at the beginning that aid is essential, and so it is. The tragedy is that the aid programmes in Korea are so coloured and warped by the need to defeat Communism and keep an army of some twenty divisions eternally ready that the unfortunate byproducts of the programmes are not worth bothering about.

I suppose the truth is that motives are important. The purer the motive the purer the act. In Korea the statesmen made a mess; the soldiers made a bigger one. Nobody has a right to expect that the aid programmes will be perfect. The Republic of Korea is dependent on them. That is enough justification.

## THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

*By Darsono (Djakarta)*

THE gains of the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) in the recent local elections have caused some uneasiness in the country, whilst abroad it is being said that Indonesia "has gone Communist." Investigation of the situation, however, although it reveals the need for action, shows no call for fear. Matters will only be worsened by a blind branding of Communist followers in Indonesia as evil men, or of the country as having sided with Russia in the cold war. These

things are not true.

What has happened is that the PKI is the only party to gain more votes than it had obtained in the general elections two years ago. The Nationalist Party (PNI) has everywhere suffered the severest losses, more serious than those suffered by the two big Muslim parties, the Masjumi and the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

A number of circumstances favoured the PKI, including

**NOTE:**

Mr. Darsono is one of the people who founded the pre-war Communist Party of Indonesia; he left the Communist movement in 1930, convinced of its mistakes.

As a young man, in 1917, he joined the Union of Social-Democrats of the Dutch East Indies, and was prominent at the end of 1920 amongst the leadership of the radical wing which became the Communist party. He was sentenced by the Dutch East Indies Government for a number of press delicts, and was eventually expelled from the country at the beginning of 1926. Travelling via China and Siberia, he made his way to Moscow, where he stayed from 1926 to 1929. He became a candidate member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and in

1929 he went to Berlin. Not impressed by what he had seen from close quarters of the top leadership of Communism, he resigned from the party and left the Communist movement as a whole. He remained in Berlin until May 1934, one year after Hitler had seized power. He then went to Amsterdam, weathered the German occupation, and remained in Holland until January 1950. He returned to Indonesia in March 1950, after Indonesia's sovereignty and independence had been recognised internationally.

Mr. Darsono is known today as an active critic of the Communist Party of Indonesia and as a writer on economic affairs. It is worth mentioning here that the other surviving top founders of the pre-war Communist party, Semaun and Alimin, are now both outside that organisation.

the worsening of the economic situation, the nature of the party's organisation and its activities, the support for the PKI which undoubtedly must have followed the visit to Indonesia by K. Voroshilov, President of the Soviet Union, and so forth. Merely to continue listing the causes of these electoral successes, however, does little to show us what they, in fact, mean; neither will it enable us to understand what is the nature of Communism in Indonesia. It is, therefore, necessary to begin with a brief review of the history of the party itself.

### History of the Communist Party of Indonesia

In 1914 Dutch socialists founded the Union of Social-Democrats with the aim of studying social and economic developments in Indonesia, then the Netherlands East Indies. After the Russian Revolution in November 1917, this Union split and, in 1920 the name of the radical wing was changed to Partai Komunis Indonesia. Thus it follows that the PKI is the oldest Communist party in a colonial country.

Meanwhile, the Dutch leaders of the party were expelled from Indonesia and the leadership passed into Indonesian hands. Because at this time the PKI was the only organisation in the country waging an outright political struggle against colonial rule, its prestige grew and it developed a mass membership. It led the general strike of railway workers in May, 1923, and organised the uprising of November 1926, both with the objective of attacking foreign domination. The 1926 uprising, however, was put down by force by the Dutch authorities and the PKI was banned. Thousands of its members were arrested and many of them were interned at Digul in West New Guinea.

The fierce repression of these outbreaks coupled with the reactions of the Dutch government which resulted in a travesty of political freedom in Indonesia, only served to increase the desire for national independence. It was then that new parties came to the fore, the most important of which was the Nationalist Party.

The Communists, their prestige enhanced, continued to work underground until the proclamation of Indonesia's independence on 17 August, 1945. Then, with other parties, they formally and openly re-established their identity. Their prestige remained high until it became clear that they were trying to capture the entire leadership of the nationalist revolution which succeeded the proclamation. It was with this same objective that in September 1948 the Communists organised an uprising against the young Republic, which at that time was still engaged in warfare with the Dutch army.

This uprising led to a great loss of prominent leaders amongst the PKI. It was put down by force of arms by the Republican Army and many people—not only Communists—lost their lives on both sides during the revolt. The PKI, however, was never subsequently banned by the Republican Government, perhaps because the Dutch launched a major attack and occupied the centre of the Republic before the matter of the uprising and the trials of the rebels reached discussion in parliament and investigation in the courts.

After Indonesia had won international recognition of its sovereignty at the end of 1949, the Communists were very cautious in their actions, fearing to stir up their opponents. Their tactics were very flexible, their objective being to establish a variety of the notorious "united front," aimed at the Dutch and imperialism. Many nationalist and religious leaders were taken in by these tactics and were willing to cooperate with them. The two parties which consistently and

as a matter of principle opposed them were the socialist and the Muslim party, the Masjumi. No wonder that the main attacks of the PKI were always directed against the Socialist Party and the Masjumi, although the elections showed that the former is a very small party.

### The PKI as an Organisation

The PKI is the only party in the country which is, in fact, well-organised and disciplined. There is close contact between the leadership and the members, so that party decisions are put into practice. Further, the local activities which are required, as in other Communist parties abroad, can be well coordinated through the nature of the organisation.

As part of an international movement the Communists have been able to draw upon the organisational and operational experience of brother parties elsewhere. There are books and pamphlets in plenty at the disposal of the PKI showing how to organise, what slogans to use and what action to take in order to influence various groups of the population.

During the electoral campaigns it could be seen how active the PKI members and supporters are. Many of the party symbols displayed throughout the country were clearly hand-made by work teams; theatrical and musical performances were staged; it appeared that PKI campaigners were the most active of all parties in Indonesia. In addition, the statements made and promises given no doubt secured many votes, for the Indonesian masses are completely inexperienced in the matter of modern politics.

In their struggle for influence the Communists have been most unprincipled and opportunistic. They have made excessive and indiscriminate promises to the people, apparently without caring whether those pledges could be fulfilled or not. For instance, promises of land distribution have been made, regardless of the fact that the land in question was already leased to plantations, the products of which could increase the country's foreign exchange; or the land in towns was already earmarked for a government building project. The Communists, pointing to the fact that some persons known as top leaders in the three other major parties have been charged with corruption, told the people that the other parties had impoverished them through corruptive dealings while in power, so that, if the people wish improved living conditions, they had no choice but to elect the PKI. It is true that the leadership of the PKI has never been vilified as corruptors. But the Communist Party has always been in opposition, never in power, so that its leaders have neither been subjected to temptations nor have they occupied positions where political jealousies or machinations might inspire charges against them.

The PKI has also been able to secure wide influence through capturing the leadership of workers' unions, peasants' and cultural organisations and the like. It has been made possible by members of these organisations who happened to be Communists and who either comprised the active element, or were well represented in it. The mass following of the PKI, therefore, has not been obtained because the masses endorse the Communist ideology, but because they can see that the Communists are active; they hear them take up the people's demands, and they believe the big promises.

There are many local leaders of the PKI who are still dominated by superstition, or who still hold to the old

traditional mysticism. The peasants who are banded together in the Barisan Tani Indonesia (Indonesian Peasants' Front), the owners of small enterprises and the shopkeepers are examples of social groups which at the moment supply a number of supporters for the PKI, but whose interests, in fact, run counter to the Communist ideology.

Among the top leaders of the PKI there are some intellectuals, but the guidance of the party today is in the hands of semi-intellectuals, amongst them teachers and office-workers. In proportion, there are few workers from modern factories enlisted as members. Judging by their writings and speeches it is doubtful whether any of these people have made a profound study of the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. This is all the more true because the important works by Marx, Engels and Lenin have not yet been translated into the Indonesian language. Mastery of foreign languages sufficient for deep study of these works is still to be found only amongst a relatively small proportion of the people. Original publications in the Indonesian language dealing with Marxian theories are likewise very limited. It follows that what knowledge of Marxism there is amongst the membership and supporters of the PKI is rather a simplification than "pure Marxism," and constitutes a mixture of some of Marx's thoughts with petit bourgeois thinking. The top leaders of the PKI are no Marxists in the western sense, but people whom Lenin once designated as middle class men "growing wild."

### Present Position of the PKI

As a consequence of the recent elections, the Communists have gained an absolute majority in a number of local government bodies. They have now reached a position where they must act.

The Communist leaders have been and are still being boastful. They seem to think that by calling themselves Marxists they automatically become capable of solving all problems. While in opposition, they have blamed the other parties for deterioration of the economic situation, the rise in prices, the disappearance or insufficient supply of articles of consumption, the increase of unemployment, the shortage of raw materials to be worked up in industries, etc. They claimed that they will rectify all these matters if only they were to come to power. Thus in the past the Communists have expressed the demand of the people, but now that they have won power, they face the task of proving that they are able to materialise those demands.

This will be no easy task. Even at the local level Indonesia's present difficulties are both complex and complicated. For instance, there is the tremendous problem of how to provide work as well as accommodation for the many-thousands who are coming into the towns from the country. Resettlement in other islands cannot be effected on a large enough scale quickly enough, and there is no land left on Java for them to cultivate. There are not yet sufficient industries in existence which might provide work for them. So they become tri-shaw drivers, cigarette and other street sellers; they are always under-employed, and the shacks they build on vacant blocks must frequently be moved when the council uses the land for town planning. Can the Communists with absolute majorities on the city councils satisfy these people's demands before these unfortunates become dissatisfied with the Communists?

To the extent that the Communists fail in materialising the demands of the people which they have so strongly

urged, to that extent will the mass of the people learn by experience that it is easy for the Communists to make promises but difficult for them to act wisely and effectively. Moreover, now that the Communists have the opportunity of taking power, they become vulnerable to the criticisms of the opposing parties. It is true that they can cause some troubles in the local governments where they hold majorities. But as long as the central government is not in their hands they do not constitute a big threat to the country as a whole. What difficulties they cause can be confined to a comparatively small number of localities. As long as democratic principles are maintained it will not be possible for the PKI to conquer the majority in the country.

### The Outcome under Democratic Methods

But the opposing parties must work harder if they are to defeat the PKI. They must see to it that, in fact as well as in name, they have a well-organised and disciplined body of members. They must become more active among the masses and in the people's organisations. And they must advertise widely all failings and weaknesses of the Communists who have power in the local government bodies.

With the maintenance of democratic methods in Indonesia the possibilities are, indeed, greater than this. For it is only under democratic conditions that the masses can obtain political experience. Mental freedom and political experience together constitute the greatest danger to the Communist ideology. The fact that a number of Marx's conclusions have not come true in the event becomes apparent to people when they are free to discover this truth. When political experience has been denied to people in the past, it is only through experience that they can discover the ideology which accords with their interests.

Recalling that by and large the members of the PKI are not indoctrinated dogmatists, but people with merely a hazy conception of Marxism, it is all the more likely to happen that the experience of having power will alter their ideas. The Communists in responsible positions will learn by experience that the mere reiteration of quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin solves nothing. Step by step they will learn that their power is limited by objective factors, and that the development of the Republic in all fields is an enormous undertaking, in which success can be achieved only if there is willingness to cooperate.

The big problems facing Indonesia now and maybe for some decades to come are in reality economic. There is the growing over-population of Java, and there is the need for the development of industries in order to create more opportunities for work to absorb the increasing population. National capital of a magnitude to carry out these tasks is lacking. Large-scale foreign investment is needed.

After World War II, the world situation is such that the rich countries are more or less responsible for the development of the economically backward ones. This responsibility needs to be fully understood, for the fact is that technical progress brings with it increasing freedom for individuals, not slavery.

Technical progress is impossible without technicians. In this modern age the greater the technical skill required, the nearer the technician becomes to the intellectual. Because intellectuals everywhere in history have been the vanguard of freedom of thought and movement, their increasing numbers in a community constitutes increasing opposition to all forms of dictatorship. And technicians are the very stuff of which modern democracies are made,

# AUTONOMY FOR NAGALAND

*From a Special Correspondent recently in Assam*

FTER centuries the tribal Nagaland, more or less perched on the Patkoi Hills bordering Burma, has for the first time gained all-India importance because of its imminent transformation into a centrally-administered autonomous area. From ancient times the Naga tribes had maintained close social, cultural, economic and even political intercourse with the plains people of Assam and the tribal people of Lower Tibet and the neighbouring territories of Burma and China. Though drawn into the vortex of Assamese-Burmese wars and militant disputes with other Assamese hill tribes during the long feudal period, they had nonetheless succeeded in maintaining their separate political identity and yet they had remained physically linked to eastern India. In the succeeding period of British rule they were governed as a hermetically sealed kingdom but despite that they remained closely allied to the province of Assam. Their hermit existence and political isolation from the rest of India made them nurture a separatist feeling which appeared on the surface at the close of the Second World War.

The withdrawal of British paramountcy from the Indian sub-continent and the re-emergence of India as a sovereign nation and the creation of the State of Pakistan synchronised with the deepening of Naga separatist feeling. As a result a Naga independence movement was launched. Both the Central Government of India and the Assam Government rejected the demand for a Naga independent state, firstly, because of its incompatibility with the Indian Constitution, and secondly because it threatened India into agreeing to territorial fragmentation desired by a microscopic minority. The proponents of independence deliberately brushed aside the fact that Nagaland had continued as an integral part of India since pre-feudal times.

The Naga recalcitrants however began to resent the administering of the major part of their homeland by the Assam Government, even though Nagas were elected to the Assamese Legislative Assembly and tribal affairs were sympathetically dealt with by the Ministry of Tribal Welfare. During 1955 and 1956 the Naga independence movement which had earlier taken a violent turn became a "pocket Naga war of independence" against India. The Naga rebels led by Zapu Phizo resorted to hit-and-run military operations compelling Indian armed forces of the Eastern Command to retaliate. In the meantime both the Central and Assam Governments made successive attempts to persuade the rebels to give up violence and accept a just solution of the problem through peaceful talks. Early this year the official persuasion began to bear fruits and there occurred a definite split in the rebel camp. At the same time the military actions of the Eastern Command broke the back of insurgent attacks.

A large section of the rebels realising the futility of continuing the rebellion decided to negotiate with the Central Government on the formation of a separate Nagaland within the Indian Union. They received official assurance that if they cooperated with the Government authorities for the restoration of law and order their proposal

for an autonomous homeland would be sympathetically considered. Dr. Imkonglia Ao, righthand man of rebel leader Phizo, broke away from him and organised a Naga autonomy movement which very soon received the majority support of all the 15 Naga tribes. In August last he called a Naga Conference in Kohima, capital of Nagaland, at which a resolution was unanimously adopted requesting the Central Government to create a centrally-administered Naga homeland by including the Naga Hills District of Assam, the Tuensang Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency and the reserved forests in the Naga Hills District. The Kohima Conference completed the break-up of Phizo's rebellious activities and he and some of his diehard followers took to the fastness of the hills to evade capture.

On September 25, Dr. Ao arrived in Delhi as the leader of a nine-man Naga delegation appointed by the Kohima Conference to confer with the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru. At the outset of the talks Dr. Ao refrained from pressing for the inclusion of the reserved forests in the proposed autonomous Nagaland which he said should comprise the Naga Hills District and the Tuensang Frontier Division. The Prime Minister accepted the proposal and it was agreed that the necessary constitutional amendment would be carried out to constitute a separate administrative unit consisting of these two areas within the Indian Union directly under the President and that the unit would be administered by the Governor of Assam on behalf of the President. Also a general amnesty to all rebels was offered and it was decided to de-group those villages which had been grouped together for the emergency. Curiously enough, on the day the delegation was conferring with the Prime Minister the Phizo group made an unsuccessful attempt to ambush a Nagaland Deputy Minister in the Assam Government.

All shades of opinion in India expressed satisfaction that the protracted Naga problem had been solved due to the direct initiative taken by Mr. Nehru. The majority of Nagaland population stated that the Nehru-Ao accord had recognised their just and legitimate political aspiration. Nehru himself attributed the origins of the Naga problem to the past British action in imposing "some kind of iron curtain." Presumably he meant that the past British rulers had kept Nagaland completely secluded, motivated by strategic reasons. It is a fact that shortly before India regained her independence certain British officials had tentatively conceived a plan for organising a separate British Crown Colony by creating a tribal state consisting of tribes inhabiting the Indo-Burmese frontier zone. It is probable that the subsequent Naga independence movement had been to some extent influenced by that plan. Quite a few of the present-day Naga leaders have received Christian education, being converted to Christianity by the missionaries. The Indian Prime Minister has hinted that this Christian education has something to do with the "mistaken Naga claim to independence." American Baptist missionaries are even now active in Nagaland.

Though both the ruling Congress Party and the opposition group in Assam have accepted the autonomous Na-

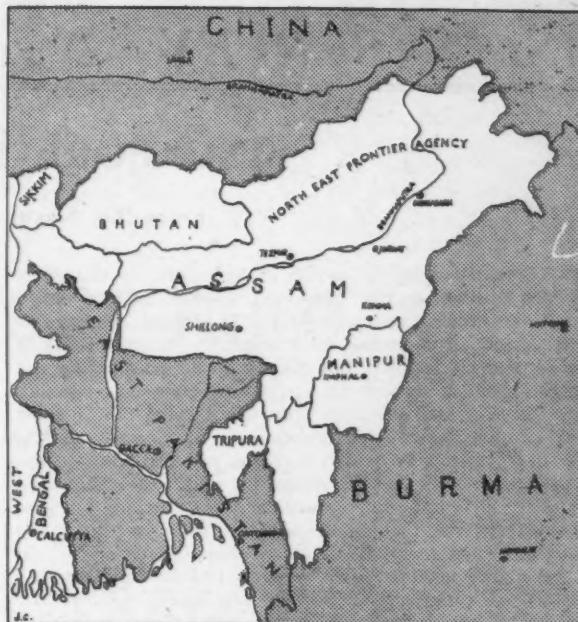
and formula, they fear that it might cause other hill tribes in Assam to demand autonomy. The Centrally-ruled autonomous Nagaland will have a total population of 240,000 and a territory comprising 6,000 square miles. The detaching of the Naga Hills District means the loss of 4,000 square miles to Assam. The parliamentary opposition in Assam fears that the new arrangement while quelling unrest in one part of India may give a fillip to greater unrest in other parts of the country. It stresses that the arrangement may eventually lead to further reduction of the boundaries of Assam, that is, other hill areas such as Garo, Lushai and Khasi Jaintia may want autonomy under the Central Government. The Indian Government has categorically declared that it would not countenance any move to create a separate state in the hill areas of Assam which are already enjoying a certain amount of autonomy through the Autonomous Councils of the hill districts.

The Eastern India Tribal Union, political mouthpiece of the Assam hill districts, particularly Garo, Lushai and Khasi Jaintia, emphasises that the tribal problems in the eastern frontier areas of India will remain not only unsolved but in fact more aggravated if consideration of the problems of other hill peoples is not taken up simultaneously with the solution of the Naga problem. It urges the Indian Government to confer more autonomous rights on the hill areas by posing consultation with the leaders of the autonomous district councils of such areas. An influential Christian tribal leader has suggested the conferment of great autonomy by creating a special Hill Ministry in the Assam Government. Meanwhile the Assam Minister for Tribal Welfare believes that if more powers and financial aid are given to the Autonomous Districts Councils the major demands of the people of the hills will be met. The Indian Home Minister, Govind Ballabh Pant, went to Assam to confer with the State Ministers on the question of enlarging the autonomous powers of the Councils.

The Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare at a meeting in the middle of October adopted certain schemes for the economic betterment of the tribal people, for imparting education and for developing forest cooperative societies. It is understood that the Indian Government in consultation with the Assam Government has drafted a plan for giving autonomy to the hill districts of Assam inhabited by a number of tribal people other than the Nagas, but they themselves would remain inside Assam.

Towards the end of October leaders and representatives of the 15 distinct Naga tribes inhabiting the Naga Hills District and the Tuensang Frontier Division held an important meeting at Mokokchung, at which the Nehru-Ao accord on centrally-administered autonomous Nagaland was approved. The meeting also formulated certain pacification measures to be activated to reduce the militant opposition of the Phizo group. Officials of the External Affairs, Home and Finance Ministries of India had conferred with the new Naga leaders on the administrative measures to be enforced for the functioning of autonomous Nagaland. Latest official activities indicate that the centrally-administered autonomous Naga administration will come into force before the end of December. It is the considered opinion of the Indian Government that once the autonomous administration gets under way the little rebellion that is continuing will slowly peter out.

It was reported in the latter part of October that the Phizo group had met in a conference somewhere in the



interior to discuss what attitude it should adopt in regard to autonomous Nagaland. Newspaper despatches from Shillong said that the rebels were divided on whether to accept autonomous Nagaland or not. One section favoured acceptance of the new deal, while some other rebels remained undecided. Only a few demanded the continuation of the "struggle for independence." The reaction of Phizo was not known. Since a split has occurred in the rebel camp and a section of the insurgents has expressed willingness to accept the autonomous status for Nagaland, it is apparent that the remaining small number of recalcitrants would find it well-nigh impossible to keep up their "gunbred" freedom campaign.

The creation of autonomous Nagaland would be of great strategic benefit to the defence of eastern India. It will also open the way for a proper demarcation of the Indo-Burmese frontier which to this day has remained largely undefined. Furthermore the Nagas living on the Burmese side of the frontier would be insulated against maintaining contacts with the Phizo rebels. Economically Nagaland would be immensely benefited, for the Indian Government will now directly assist the Nagas to establish industries and improve agriculture. It is assumed that more Nagas will be associated with the Eastern Command and the area for the first time will be brought into direct contact with other parts of India.

Naga autonomy clearly illustrates the flexibility of Indian democracy, and its inherent objective of resolving a conflict by means of negotiations and understanding of the rights and just points of the disputants. As the autonomous status takes root the Indian character of the Nagas will prominently come out in the open and thus the previous iron curtain will in natural process be replaced by the national curtain. The long overdue Indianisation of Nagaland has at last been taken in hand through a voluntary agreement of mutual satisfaction.

## ASIAN SURVEY

### SINGAPORE IN FERMENT

*From Our Singapore Correspondent*

THE sensation of the month in Singapore, as elsewhere, was Sputnik, or the "man-made moon," as it is called in the Chinese vernacular press. It aroused considerable interest and all conceded the Russians had clearly stolen a march over Uncle Sam. For once, the Chinese-speaking and English-speaking sections of Singapore's Chinese community held identical views and the Americans came in for some good-natured banter from trishaw rider to Chinese towkey. The news, seemingly rather hurriedly released towards the end of the month, that the Americans had successfully fired a missile high into outer space, and the obviously urgent efforts they were making to catch up and overtake Soviet scientific achievement, hardly made any impression at all.

But the perennial gulf between Chinese-educated and non-Chinese-educated Chinese was once again emphasised by the drastic action the Government took against subversive elements in certain Chinese schools. Forty-eight students were arrested under the Public Security Ordinance. The exact reasons for their arrest are not known but all available evidence points to their being engaged in forming Communist cells in their schools to oppose the so-called Government "colonial pattern of education." Try as it may, it seems impossible for the Government to allay the deep-rooted suspicions and fears of Chinese educationalists that it is trying to destroy Chinese culture. At the time of writing, twenty-nine of the arrested students have been released, after the Chief Minister, Mr. Lim Yew Hock, gave a "pep" talk to their parents and told them to exercise stricter control over their children in future.

At the same time, the arrest of a leading Singapore Chinese educationalist, Dr. Chuang Chu Lin, Principal of the Chung Cheng High School, a 54-year old Michigan University graduate, under the Banishment Ordinance, became a controversial issue. The cudgels were taken up on his behalf by a wide variety of people including Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, the People's Action Party Legislative Assemblyman; Chinese school-teachers and others connected with Chinese education, who made personal representations to the Chief Minister; some well-meaning Europeans who wrote in to the local press; and the Malayan Communist Party from across the causeway in the Federation of Malaya. The latter sent "death notes" to the Chief Minister, and Mr. Chew Swee Kee, the Minister of Education, threatening them with death if they did not release Dr. Chuang. But the strange thing, in any case, was that no-one knew exactly why Dr. Chuang had been arrested. The Government is not required, under the Public Security Ordinance, to make public the evidence on which it acted. All that was known against Dr. Chuang was circumstantial: that certain students of his school were among the leaders of the Communist-inspired anti-Government student movement; that they frequently defied the authority of their parents, school authorities, and Government; that the number of students attending the school was

unusually large; and that administratively the school was difficult to control. But no-one had ever accused Dr. Chuang of being a Communist.

The fact that Dr. Chuang was arrested under the Banishment Ordinance and not the Public Security Ordinance may or may not be of significance. The latter Ordinance is generally used against those persons suspected of Communist activities while the former casts a wider net and empowers the Chief Secretary to order the arrest of any alien when it appears to him there are "reasonable grounds to believe that the person's banishment would be conducive to the public good." There is no doubt that Dr. Chuang is an alien. Although he has been headmaster of the Chung Cheng High School for the past seventeen years, he has never taken out British citizenship, and legally he still owed allegiance to a foreign country.

Curiously enough, one aftermath of the Chuang case has been a petition to the Singapore Council of Ministers by a group of twelve highly-respectable western and Asian clerics and prominent church laymen, voicing their dissatisfaction with the power Government has to order a person's detention without public trial. They say they have been studying the Public Security Ordinance for the past six months and conclude it is not consistent with the Christian concept of justice and individual freedom. In particular, they object to the power the police have to detain a suspect up to 14 days without producing him before a magistrate and consider that this power of detention beyond twenty-four hours should only be exercised by a magistrate. The latest indications are that this petition will be supported by political parties ranging from the left-wing People's Action Party to the right-wing Liberal Socialists.

It is interesting to speculate that if Dr. Chuang's arrest had been delayed for one month, it might not have been possible to take action against him under the Banishment Ordinance. The Singapore Citizenship Ordinance came into force on November 1st, and its provisions make it possible for an alien who has resided in Singapore for at least the last eight years to register as a citizen of Singapore. It is estimated about 230,000 alien Chinese in Singapore and about 30,000 Indonesians will be eligible for citizenship under this new law. The qualifying residential period for those persons born in the Federation of Malaya, Commonwealth citizens, and citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies, is only two years. On the first two days of registration, business was brisk and 1,300 Certificates of Citizenship were issued.

The exact legal status of a Singapore citizen has not yet been defined but it has already been announced that only those persons who have obtained Singapore citizenship will be eligible to vote or stand for election at the coming Legislative Assembly elections to be held in 1958. However, the possession or otherwise of Singapore citizenship will not



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affect the franchise for the Singapore City Council elections due to be held on December 21st. All parties (Liberal Socialists, People's Action Party, Labour Front, United Malay Nationalist Organisation-Malayan Chinese Association Alliance) are going ahead with their preparations for the election which is likely to be keenly contested. It was doubtful at one time whether the People's Action Party would be able to nominate any candidates at all following the arrest under the Public Security Ordinance of five leading members of its Central Executive two months ago. Now, the situation has become stabilised once more by the return to power of the "moderate group" headed by the Chairman, Dr. Toh Chin Chye, and the Secretary-General, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. They are expected to be very active.

## Malaya

### Emergency Cheaper

*From Our Kuala Lumpur Correspondent*

Malaya's nine-year-old emergency, at one time costing more than £60,000 a day, is getting cheaper. Officials here have confirmed that the cost of maintaining the war against the Communist terrorists is steadily dropping. These are the first fruits of the all-out drive against the terrorists launched by the Alliance Government shortly after they came into power in mid-1955. The biggest saving has come from the declaration of "White" areas (areas deemed to be completely free of terrorists) following a policy adopted some time ago of sweeping up the terrorists in one area in a sustained operation before tackling the next gangs.

Today more than half of Malaya is white with all emergency restrictions—curfew, food rationing and such like—lifted. It is interesting that not one White area has had to be turned back again into a Black area. This reduction in the cost of the emergency may mean that the Finance Minister, Col. Sir Henry Lee, will be able to announce considerable savings in this respect at the December budget meeting, pointing to what can be done if the emergency can be wound up by August 31 next year, the anniversary of Malayan independence and the target date fixed by the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, for the ending of this nine-and-a-half-year shooting war.

"The costing is decreasing steadily as the emergency runs down," said an official of the Director of Operations staff in Kuala Lumpur. As the operational area contracts, more economical use can be made of the security forces. In the White areas, considerable savings can be made on defence. Officials maintain, however, that there has been no let-up in deep jungle operations, among the most expensive of the operations mounted by security forces, when costly air drops are required, although overall there might have been a decrease in the number mounted. "We find it better not to meet the terrorists on their own ground but at supply points," it was stated. "We seldom find it worthwhile to mount a deep jungle operation unless there is a target, but there has been no specific let-up."

Although no detailed figures are ever published, it is estimated that the cost of a lengthy air supply flight by a

Valetta plane works out at about £1,000. The British Government pays for RAF operations under the Mutual Defence and Assistance Treaty, signed here a few weeks ago. But disappointing has been the small number of terrorists to surrender under the Prime Minister's "final" surrender terms offered to them a few hours after this country became independent.

The Prime Minister, on September 3 this year, made it clear that terrorists coming out of the jungle between then and the end of this year would be given an opportunity to resume their lives in normal society or alternatively, if they wished, could be repatriated to China under a guarantee that they would neither be questioned nor interrogated before leaving. In the first two months of this offer—the half-way mark—only 20 terrorists had surrendered despite 12 million leaflets having been dropped over the jungle and on rubber estates telling the remaining 1,800 left to "come out and forget the past."

This is the third special peace offer made by the Federation Government to the terrorists. The first was made immediately after the Alliance Government came into power and the second after the Baling talks at which the Prime Minister (then Chief Minister) met the secretary-general of the Malayan Communist Party, Chin Peng, for two day talks which ended in deadlock.

The results of these earlier offers, however, were said to be "unsatisfactory." Most important feature of these latest surrender terms, as during the amnesty period, is that the terrorists will not be prosecuted for their past crimes. A few days ago, five of the 20 terrorists to surrender in the last two months, gave themselves up to a European, Mr. Donald Davies, a public relations officer, 70 miles north of Kuala Lumpur on the main trunk road from Penang to the capital.

Mr. Davies and his driver were stopped by five ragged Chinese waving surrender leaflets who asked to be driven to the nearest police station. Mr. Davies piled them into his car and off he drove. For his efforts, he was rewarded with £250, which he shared with his driver. In a further bid to attract information which might lead to the surrender, capture or killing of the remaining terrorists in the jungle, the Malayan Government has now told Communist sympathisers and food suppliers that they too have been given a blanket free pardon for any past crimes committed against the Government.

It is well-known that many suppliers and intelligence gatherers for the Communists have been terrified that they might be implicated as terrorists surrender and begin to tell how their lines of supply operated and the names of suppliers. Government officers feel that this latest move might well now result in more information being obtained from suppliers wishing to make amends for their past. The Government, too, are keeping a weather-eye on some trade union leaders in the country. In the past weeks, four top officials of the 20,000 strong National Union of Factory and General Workers, have been detained under the Emergency Regulations.

One of those arrested was the Union's president of one month, 28 year-old Wong Loke Kuan, who was picked up at the Union headquarters in the heart of Kuala Lumpur. The vice-president, assistant general secretary, and secretary of the Johore State branch of the Union, were all arrested and detained in a swoop in Johore. More than half the members of the Union are in Johore. Union officials of

this Union have boasted from time to time that they have organised more than 100 strikes in the past six years. In several of these it has resulted in factories being closed down completely and hundreds of people made unemployed.

Speaking here a few hours after the detention of these four men, the Minister of Defence, Dato Abdul Razak, said that these men had obtained positions of authority in the Union. They had also propagated Communist subversive doctrines and practised among the Union members. The Minister made it clear that they were not arrested because of their union activities, emphasising that it was the Government's policy to encourage healthy trade unions. "Government intends to take steps to protect all forms of lawful organisations from penetration by individuals who plan to use such organisations for these subversive purposes and will not hesitate to use its legal powers, including the Emergency Regulations, to achieve this object," he said.

## India

### Communist Party Changes

*From a Correspondent in Delhi*

A move towards developing "Constitutional Communism" will be made when an Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of India meets in Amritsar from January 23 to 30 next year to approve changes in the organisational structure of the party recently endorsed by the Central Committee. It is gathered from the speeches of party leaders that Constitutional Communism means that the Communist Party of India will henceforward function as a parliamentary opposition group conforming to the "democratic political rights" of the nation stipulated in the Constitution of India. In other words, the party structure will be "democratised along party-political lines to work for the phased "communisation" of India through "constitutional and peaceful methods."

At the beginning of October the Politburo in a three-day meeting recommended to the Central Committee the need for amending the party constitution in order to step up the expansion of now-developing parliamentary Communism and at the same time foster "inner-party democracy." This followed a seven-day session of the Central Committee here at which the recommendation of the Politburo was realistically discussed and a resolution was adopted setting forth the changes that were to be made in the party organisation to gear the "democratic role of Communism."

It was realised that the strengthening of the constitutional party-political role of Communism had become imperative due to the progress of Communism in India through the central Parliament and state legislatures. The Communist running of the Kerala State Administration all the more influenced the Central Committee in deciding to revamp the party structure along democratic lines compatible with its national policy.

The structural changes approved by the Committee included replacement of existing "cells" by branches and reorganisation of units to set up committees at district,

provincial and central levels. The proposed changes aimed at broad-basing the organisation and at the same time enforcing "greater discipline." Besides the envisaged three-tier reorganisation it was decided that at the forthcoming Amritsar Congress a National Council of 100 members should be elected on the basis of state membership, except for ten members who would be elected from among those who were doing all-India work, and that a five-man secretariat should be elected for the day-to-day functioning of the party. It was further decided to expand the proposed district and provincial committees for associating a large number of members in the evolution of party policies and also for having small executive bodies within such committees charged with the responsibility of carrying out party policies.

It is apparent that when the Amritsar Congress automatically endorses the proposed changes the Communist Party will have taken much-needed forward-looking steps not only to consolidate its position but to ensure its more rapid expansion. The Communist Party membership is at present estimated at 150,000, but the Communist functionaries expect it to reach the 200,000 mark before the Amritsar Congress gets under way. This shows that a membership drive will be made during the remainder of the present year to win over detached groups of Leftist elements. In fact, the proposed democratisation seeks to bring various small Leftist political groups within the Communist fold; firstly, to take the fullest advantage of the rift between the Socialists and the ruling Indian National Congress Party, and secondly, to build up a Left consolidation front favourable to the gradual ascendancy of the Communist Party.

The regular session of the Communist Party Congress will be held in April 1959 when the operation of constitutional Communism during the intervening period will be analysed to find out the advantages gained from the structural changes. In the meantime party leaders are optimistic that their adherence to constitutional methods will prompt many of the anti-National Congress Party factions either to join the Communist Party or support its political activities indirectly aspiring to bring about a change in the national political scene. This explains why the leaders of the Indian National Congress are carefully observing the latest Communist move.

It is felt that if Constitutional Communism takes root in India it will exert significant influence on the consolidation of Communism in other parts of South-East Asia. Already in Indonesia Constitutional Communism is at work. The Communist trends both in India and in Indonesia

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indicate that a parliamentary type of Communism is on the march in South-East Asia which does not violently conflict with nationalism. This has made certain Asian thinkers believe that nationalism constitutes an important element of South-East Asian Communism.

## Australia

### Few Experts on Asia

*From Charles Meeking*

(EASTERN WORLD Canberra Correspondent)

In Australian politics, in journalism, in business and in most departments of government, there are lamentably few experts on Asian affairs. A Perth newspaper recently quoted a former American Minister in Canberra as having said, "If you want to find out anything about the Pacific area, you should theoretically be able to do so in Australia," but as having admitted this was not so.

There is one satisfactory exception. The Department of External Affairs has built up a formidable array of men of high calibre who have served in Asian posts. Their knowledge and experience is available to the Government—but there are indications that their advice is not always accepted.

General ignorance of Asian history and of current trends in Asia is equalled by growing apprehension. Australians have always been vaguely conscious of what was termed "the yellow peril" half a century ago. They now know that for survival they must come to terms with Asia.

This need not mean any lowering of Australian living standards or abandonment of political principles. Yet Australasia, as part geographically of the Asian complex, must realise that its future is inescapably linked with the future of Asia, and especially of South-East Asia. Economically and militarily, we must accept and should welcome this fact. There was a great deal of hard thinking behind the statement of the Indonesian Foreign Minister early in November that the whole of Indonesia was vital to Australian security. There is less public support in Australia than in Holland for the relinquishing by the Dutch of West Irian, but there is tacit admission of Australian fears for the future in the bold Australian-Netherlands declaration that ultimately the people of the vast island of New Guinea will be permitted to decide their own future.

The West Irian issue is not helping Australia to establish or maintain friendly relations with Asia. Australian apprehensions, vocal in some quarters, about Communist gains in Indonesia are largely responsible for current views and for double talk about Indonesian-New Guinea "ethnic differences."

Some prominent economists and businessmen are still urging recognition of Communist China, but there is no public agitation on this subject. There is some support for a better-balanced and more effective contribution to the Colombo Plan by Australia, and there are still sentimental and trade pockets of resistance to closer relations with Japan. General ignorance of the prospects of SEATO in the event of "limited war" and the lack of stress by the Government of the fact, emphasised in the UN, that Australia has defence responsibilities not only for the Australian people but also

for fellow members of the Commonwealth, for the United States and for "some of our Asian neighbours," have been partly responsible, perhaps, for some remarkable disclosures of ignorance recently on defence strategy and planning.

It is time Australians knew where and how they are going. Perhaps the *Melbourne Age*, a responsible journal which does not indulge in hysteria, summed up the position in an editorial which should have been read by all Australians.

It said: ". . . In the long run Australia's security may rest more happily on the association of friendship and co-operation developed with her Asian neighbours under the Colombo Plan than in adding strength to SEATO. There can be little doubt that . . . Australia's membership of SEATO and her failure to recognise Communist China have made the task of 'building bridges' in Asia notably difficult."

## Japan

### Today's Japanese

*From Stuart Griffin*

(EASTERN WORLD Tokyo Correspondent)

Japan with more than 90 million people, a country where rurally women outnumber men yet with a capital where just the reverse is true, faces this very bleak situation:

Some 11,620,000 of its citizens eke out a hand-to-mouth existence, and about 750,000 of its children are subsisting marginally.

Of the adult total, about 1,900,000 people are in dire need and another 9,270,000 persons are so poorly off as to be classified on the brink of needing public welfare. Of these many are marginally employed, in a category known as *nikoyan*—literally, people—men and women—who make 240 yen a day (less than 5s.) on public construction and repair projects.

The per capita annual income in 1956 increased 14.3 percent as compared with 1935—thought to be, by Japanese standards, the optimum prewar year. But this rise is the result of marked improvement in the standard of living among farmers, some 45 percent of Japan's total population, again attributable to the land reform and other beneficial programmes coming as a result of the American Occupation years. Yet, the living standard in cities has not even reached the prewar level, and 28.5 percent of the Japanese population dwell in cities of upwards of 100,000 to 150,000 or higher.

Government spending for relief has been on the steady rise. Yet several groups of people exist that strain Government welfare facilities to the utmost.

There are about 700,000 fatherless families, primarily war widows and children who should, in cases when they are not, be given Government support. The number of old people in need of government assistance has reached an all-time peak, especially because postwar medical care, wonder drugs, and epidemic control has increased their number.

A total of 37,879 Japanese still remain overseas awaiting repatriation, from such areas as the Soviet Union, North China, Mongolia, North Korea, and scattered places in the Pacific area. And these mean an additional tax on the

economy of the country to find support for them upon their eventual return.

Another small, but significant number of people will require relief, rehabilitation, and employment by next April 1, when the anti-prostitution Bill takes effect, and the erstwhile 250,000 to 300,000 "ladies of the evening" are forced into legal job-seeking.

The picture is less grim when a look is taken at the public health situation.

Japan's average mortality rate in 1956 was 7.8 per 1,000—about half of the prewar average. Deaths from tuberculosis have sunk phenomenally, but infant mortality rates have risen. Inroads have been made on other great killers in Japan—diphtheria and rheumatic fever for children, pulmonary ailments and stomach diseases for adults. And the average life span which 20 years ago stood at 57 for males and 61 for females, now stands at 64.5 and 68.8 respectively.

Medical treatment now costs Japan about 3.7 percent of the entire national income, which means that medical expenses cost about 42s. per person last year, as against only 25s. 6d. in 1936.

There are 5,135 hospitals country-wide with a total of 525,000 beds, an 80 percent increase over as recent a year as 1948, apart from 55,000 clinics, and over 25,000 dental offices. But most such facilities being located in cities and large towns of over 50-75,000 population, there are still 197 villages without a single doctor—at best forced to depend upon unlicensed practitioners or even midwives, with time on their hands.

And while common diseases such as beri-beri, rickets, trachoma, sleeping sickness, syphilis, gonorrhoea, pleurisy, tetanus, typhoid, typhus, and diabetes have come greatly under the control of medical science as brought in by the United States military and continued under single-minded Japanese Government purpose, the fact also remains that mental illness has soared.

And Japan's traditionally high rate of suicide—often in very dramatic and gaudy fashion—shows no signs of dipping much below a recent postwar high of 23.7 per 1,000 people.

Doctors have increased, both in actual practice and in training for the profession. And so have nurses, surgeons, pharmacists, and dentists. There are now close to 100,000 doctors in the country (of the doctors over 35,000 are surgeons) and 35,000 dentists. There are even more veterinarians. But still, there are those villages without doctors; with medical concentrations in the largest towns and cities.

## USA

### Asian Month

By David C. Williams

(EASTERN WORLD Washington Correspondent)

November is "Asia Month" in the United States—a month dedicated to developing a greater American appreciation of the contributions of the Asian peoples to the Western world.

It began with the Sixth National Conference of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, held in

San Francisco November 6-9. Fifteen hundred delegates attended the Conference, the largest ever held in the United States on Asia and Asian-American relations. Some 100 American scholars and experts on Asia participated as speakers and members of the discussion panels, and many Asians took part as guest speakers or observers.

Opening the Conference, Under-Secretary of State Christian Herter, one of the most cultured and civilised men in American public life, recalled that his family had long been associated with Asia. His grandfather travelled extensively in the Far East and brought back to America the first Japanese prints ever seen here—prints which had a profound impact upon Western artists. His parents, both professional artists, spent their honeymoon in Asia, and brought back paintings, prints, and carvings which became a part of the environment in which he grew up and with which he has lived ever since.

Recalling that he had recently returned from an extended tour of Asia, Mr. Herter declared:

"It would be a dull person indeed who would not conclude that a drive for freedom and self-determination has swept the perimeter of Asia with the force of a tidal wave. But I was more deeply impressed by (their) realisation that illiteracy, sickness, misery, and the other tragic components of a sub-marginal existence were not for them, or for anyone, a necessary condition of life. The peoples of Asia, products of an ancient and honourable civilisation, are keenly aware that the materials and essentials of life are around them, and that the technical knowledge needed for the fuller development of their environment exists."

The Conference on its second day divided into sections which discussed Asian-American relations under six headings—philosophy and religion, creative arts, natural and social sciences, education, economic relations, and communication.

The scientific section reported that the impact of science on underdeveloped countries can be dangerous unless watched with care. "The social scientists," said Prof. Karl J. Pelzer of Yale University, "should be included as a full-fledged member of the teams which are called upon to study and solve the problems confronting South-East Asia."

In the education panel, one of the problems highlighted was the basic orientation of the educational system in South Asian countries—western in culture base, but largely non-technical. The result was seen as a surplus of "educated unemployed" for whom there were no jobs in government service or other clerical occupations, while a great country like India has remained, in the words of the report of the University Education Commission, "almost entirely dependent on alliance with alien organisations in almost every great engineering and technical undertaking."

The economic section heard repeated warnings that, if India's second five-year plan fails, the future of democracy in all Asia may be jeopardised. The panel of experts declared that economic aid must be expanded and geared to what the Asians need rather than what Americans think they need.

In an address to the final plenary session, Madame Pandit, Indian High Commissioner in London, reiterated the basic theme of the Conference, saying: "The first reason for present misunderstanding between us—and the most tragic—is our ignorance of each other."

Throughout the month of November, American museums will be holding Asian exhibits, and many private organisations are devoting their November meetings to the same theme.

## Recent Books

### TIBETAN METAMORPHOSIS

**Oracles and Demons of Tibet** by RENE DE NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ (*Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 105s.*)

**Tibet** by ALAN WINNINGTON (*Lawrence & Wishart, 25s.*)

**Prisoner in Red Tibet** by SIDNEY WIGNALL (*Hutchinson, 18s.*)

**T**IBET, mainly because of its hermetic inaccessibility, has never ceased to excite the curiosity and imagination of the West. Its self-imposed isolation during the crucial decades of technological development outside its borders, has kept it a kind of preserved specimen of the past, a museum piece of static medieval culture. Now, that China, for the first time, has taken steps to consummate her up to now theoretical historic connection with Tibet, fears have been voiced in the West that Tibet may lose its identity. This fear for the loss of essential Tibetan characteristics has been mingled with the subconscious hope that the deeply-rooted religious and cultural traditions of Lhasa may provide an obstacle to Chinese interference, thus leading to a debacle of the Communist "conquest" and a setback for Peking.

Despite their different subjects, the books under review offer a composite answer to the complicated problem of Tibet's crucial hour when modernisation is challenging its feudal and theocratic society and when its spiritual and administrative traditions are in the balance.

For there are two significant facts which have to be borne in mind in connection with Tibet's present problems. One is the extremely deeply rooted hold of religious conceptions and practices on the minds of the Tibetans. The other is the careful and highly principled minorities policy of Peking. Whereas the former is unlikely to extinguish its impact, the latter is concentrating on administrative efficiency and social and economic improvements. Peking, though materialistically and diametrically opposed to the concepts of the Tibetan pantheon and its spiritual interpretation, is prepared to compromise as long as the advantages of the new regime become visible to the people. Educational progress is calculated eventually to arouse critical faculties amongst the people and to instil in them a desire for progressive changes inside their society. The present *modus vivendi* between Lhasa and Peking is a compromise which benefits both parties. For while the spiritual character of Tibetan thought remains undisturbed and is bound to continue as a guiding influence on the minds of Tibetans, it will nevertheless undergo certain changes which will put Lamaism in a similar position as maintained by the Churches in the West. The elimination of serfdom, the improvement of agricultural methods, air and road transport, educational and medical facilities and the general improvement of living conditions brought about through careful Chinese penetration, is bound to remould the secular side of Tibetan life.

It must not be forgotten that most of the 4,500,000

Tibetans in existence actually live in China where they form the majority population of the border districts like in Chinghai, Yunnan and other districts. Only about one million live in Tibet proper, under political allegiance to Lhasa. Their social classification is roughly: 50,000 nobles and merchants; 150,000 monks; 800,000 serfs of whom 200,000 are pastoral, the remainder agricultural. About one-seventh of the population is in the monasteries — more than one man in four.

As up to now customs and beliefs have not been interfered with — indeed, little has changed in this respect — it must be expected that internal reforms will emerge step by step as the people will find it increasingly incompatible with steadily progressing modernisation to maintain the monastic system. It must be expected that a division between temporary and ecclesiastical functions will gradually increase in Tibet and that the phenomenon of a minority supporting a majority consisting of lamas almost exclusively devoted to praying, will give way to a more realistic utilisation of the nation's resources.

*Oracles and Demons of Tibet* is an extremely valuable scientific study of the Tibetan protective divinities, the guardians of Buddhism, and their cult. It also gives a comprehensive insight into the early shamanistic beliefs and practices which form the basis of the Bon religion. Apart from a detailed iconography, the author describes the various forms of divination and magic and, most important, the position of the State Oracles in Tibetan society. It is this latter aspect which reveals the little known interdependence between Tibetan Government and prophetic trances of the State Media, and which stresses the closely knit pattern of inspired administration which faces Peking's modernistic ambitions and materialistic conceptions. It is the tantric manifestation, the message of the spirits with which the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party will have to compete for the souls of Tibetans. This book, beautifully illustrated and elaborately indexed, is an invaluable documentation of a little-known aspect of Lamaism which has to be studied in order to assess China's problem in Tibet.

Unlike Outer Mongolia, where the Tibetan-influenced Lamaism was broken during the fervour of revolution, it is safe to presume that China will deal with this question by evolutionary methods. It is thus doubly important to study the basic spiritual, indeed spiritualistic, magic stratum which is likely to remain a powerful parallel influence in Tibetan life for a long time to come.

Yet, despite its careful, calculatedly unoffending attitude in Tibet, the Chinese Government's methods are dynamic and spectacular. There can be no better account about the wonders already accomplished and those to come, than Winnington's *Tibet*. Apart from his exciting account of his journey by jeep along the first motor road across the high passes onto the roof of the world, the author — an extremely able journalist and experienced observer — gives a detailed picture of the changes already discernible in the lives of the

people, ranging from chance encounters along the road to interviews with the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. There seems to be no aspect of Tibetan life which Winnington has not submitted to painstaking analytical scrutiny, making *Tibet* the best book written about that country in recent years. The medieval, backward background is admirably described and a clear cut explanation given as to the coming developments. Now that new roads and air transport have overcome the primary difficulties of communications, major changes must be expected which will include land reform, agricultural development, the creation of industry and educational, medical and other modern facilities. The author considers Tibetans among the most hardworking people of the world, and thinks that the improvement in agricultural and pastoral production methods as Tibet's present productivity is so low and her potential productivity so high, the coming improvement in production methods will provide an enormous margin to raise the living standards of the population. *Tibet*, which is illustrated with remarkable photographs by the author, will certainly remain the most important and authoritative standard work on that subject for several years to come.

Less informative about Tibet, unfortunately, is the author of *Prisoner in Red Tibet* whose experiences, together with his climbing companion, were limited to a few miles of the country across the Nepalese border and to the uncomfortable acquaintance with a few primitive and ignorant representatives of the New China. Readers cannot fail to commiserate with Mr. Wignall and his colleagues, John Harrop for having had the misfortune of falling into the hands of crude and over-zealous cavemen in uniform and for spending two months in solitary confinement in Taklakot instead of climbing the lofty peaks of the Himalayas. It can be argued that it will take a long time before the benefits of education and general raising of cultural levels will change all the characters on Chinese territory. The senseless behaviour of these frontier guards, including the Chinese Governor of West Tibet, merely conforms to the age-old customs of medieval Central Asia. But everyone who knows the New China will regret that people like this are allowed to wield authority in the name of Peking, even if it is understood that there simply is not yet enough better educated human material to go round to administer the vast territory under Chinese rule. Unfortunately, unintelligent actions like this raiding of the camp of the Welsh Himalayan Expedition to West Nepal in October, 1955 at 16,000 feet on the undemarcated frontier, the ill treatment of the climbers and the general display of clumsy ignorance in dealing with these "suspected spies," are apt to play into the hands of China's enemies and are to be deplored. The final action of forcing the climbers back via a particularly dangerous route, is tantamount to attempted murder and should be followed up by Peking and severely punished.

H. C. TAUSSIG

**Modern India** by SIR PERCIVAL GRIFFITHS (*Ernest Benn, 27s.*)

At the present time so many publications concerning India are appearing that a reviewer may legitimately begin by questioning whether yet another work on modern India is justified, even when the author possesses the unusual combination of administrative, political and business experience of Sir Percival Griffiths.

The first two sections headed "The Historical Back-

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ground," and "Independent India—Political Affairs," leave the question of justification undecided. We are offered a thoughtful and balanced survey of the rise and fulfilment of British rule in India, the problems of the transfer of power, and the shape of government and politics in independent India: but there is nothing here that Guy Wint, E. W. R. Lumby and W. H. Morris-Jones have not covered equally well, or better, elsewhere.

The third section is considerably greater moment: a study of economic development in the last ten years. The author commences one chapter by observing "It would be difficult for any Englishman, even if he were a thorough-going Socialist, to understand the place that comprehensive, economic planning now occupies in the minds of Indian politicians and administrators." The author is far from being a "thorough-going Socialist": he might not resent the label of "Liberal Imperialist": but this is the value of his assessment, a sober, down to earth weighing up of pros and cons on the basis of a detailed consideration of the whole field of industrial and commercial enterprise by one who himself has a real stake in the success or failure of India's economic planning and production. The author does not commit himself to any hard conclusion on the probable outcome of the economic struggle. He makes it clear that there are too many imponderable factors involved, but his general tone is optimistic, and his assessment of the Second Five Year Plan is a good deal more encouraging than that of most British businessmen and economists.

As a compendium of accurate information, a summing-up of reliable judgement, this work commands respect; yet somehow it does not quite stir the imagination. India today is a new world arising, an attempted synthesis of East and West, of old and new, spiritual and material. But not, somehow, in this book.

HUGH TINKER

**The Double Patriots** by RICHARD STORRY (*Chatto and Windus*, 25s.)

The two principal sources for Mr. Storry's study of Japanese nationalism are the Transcript and Exhibits of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, and the Saionji-Harada Memoirs. In addition, Mr. Storry—though he never proclaims the fact—is able to draw on personal experience of Japan during part of the period in the events and trends of which he discusses, he reads Japanese and cites much in the way of memoirs, diaries and post-war critical analyses (notably, the work of Professor Maruyama).

One of the most notable features of the events of the

'thirties is the control of the relatively junior officer, the lieut.-colonel or the major; they led the way in Manchuria and it was officers of this level who produced the final blueprint of the Japanese land disposal plan, embodied in a Research Section, Ministry of War document of December, 1941: there was to be an Alaska Government General, with control over Alaska, Alberta, the State of Washington, and so on, and the Government General of Central America would incorporate, out of a long list, Guatemala, Panama, Cuba, the Bahamas and the rest. It is all very well to shrug this off as the grandiose scheming of disappointed and disgruntled men yearning for that second pip or the red cap badge; time and again it was they who got out of hand and ruled or dragged along with them their army superiors and, eventually, the whole nation. Nor was the ability to control the many sectors and lanes of the nationalist camp facilitated by the presence of a number of ardent, almost desperado, civilian adventurers who, in and out of prison, wrote books, delivered lectures throughout the islands, conducted Bureaux on the continent and gave support in the case of almost every incident—the Manchurian, the China, the February 26th Mutiny and so on—the story of which is told so ably and vividly here.

Throughout, the Emperor refused steadfastly to run before the storm—from the words, in 1932, that "the army's meddling in domestic and foreign politics . . . we must view with apprehension"—through the rage at the 1936 Mutiny—"Any soldier who moves Imperial troops without my orders is not my soldier, no matter what excuse he may have"—to 1941—"I would like to maintain peace to the very end." But the rare moderation which he, and those who thought with him, evinced never went hand in hand with the requisite incisiveness in these difficult years. To be a moderate in thought seems somehow to have necessarily entailed flabbiness and lack of determination in action. Nor is there a bounding optimism for the future—Mr. Storry concludes that if such madness again affects Japan, there will be a greater and longer living robustness about the resistance to it. But, "more than this cannot be said."

The author handles his difficult and heterogeneous sources with an admirable dexterity—an excellent example being the chapter dealing with the March Incident. All in all, the plate he serves is huge and heaped, yet eminently tasty and digestible. And, something quite unusual for a book on the Far East these days, there are no significant misprints.

GOFFREY BOWNAS

**Anthology of Japanese Literature** (from the Earliest Times to the 19th Century). Compiled and edited by DONALD KEENE (*Allen and Unwin*, 35s.)

In his preface, Dr. Keene tells us of the criteria which guided him during his search for works and passages to be included in this anthology; the original must be translatable into artistic and enjoyable English; the choice must be representative—both chronologically and stylistically—of all the different genres of poetry, novel, diary, play and so on. The aim is to appeal as widely as possible—the translations are to be literary and not literal. For those who would seek the latter there already exist a number of scholarly efforts, which, in fact, has grown considerably since the end of the war.

The resultant product, there is no doubt, eminently fulfils these aims; the appeal must surely be very wide, for one experiences time after time the feel that this is all so

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iversal, that the myth of uniqueness and inscrutability, so long under fire, has now been blasted for all time. For example—from the mid-fourteenth century—"And am I alone in having sometimes within me a feeling that words I have just heard, or things I have just seen, have happened once before—when, I cannot recollect, but none the less certainly have happened." The only danger is that the reader may be led away into believing that all Japanese literature through all the ages, is both so readily understandable and at the same time such a treasure-house of jewels. Far from it—in both cases.

There are old favourites in Dr. Keene's anthology—Dr. Waley's rendering of *Genji*, for instance, and his *Pillow Book*: and there are many new translations by scholars hand-picked for the particular piece, as well as by Dr. Keene himself, whose general introduction and explanatory notes at the head of each selection make of this book more than a simple anthology of literature. The religious historian, the social historian again, will find much to interest them as they move from period to period. In the tenth century, the ship's captain gets no more mention from the Governor's wife as she accompanies H.E. than the statement, "even as a judge of the weather, this pilot is useless." But by the seventeenth century—the first of the Tokugawa period—the man in the street is the centre of the literary stage; his doings have begun to take vital parts in plot construction and even his letters are sometimes quoted, as witness this delightfully translated forerunner of business style—"In response to the unexpected note which your feelings toward me prompted you to write, I confess that, young as I am, your advances are not wholly distasteful to me, I must remind you that such trysts as you propose may produce complications involving a midwife, but if you are ready to meet all of the expenses incidental to the affair—clothes, coats, bath money and personal toiletries—I shall be glad to oblige to the best of my ability."

G.B.

### My Years with Pavlova by M. ALGERANOFF (Heinemann, 25s.)

One need not be a balletomaniac to succumb to the charm of this book. If any proof were needed of Algeranoff's own greatness, this story of his partnership with the fabulous Pavlova reveals the modesty and sincerity of a true and great artist. There is nothing false, nothing pretentious about this account of tears and triumph and unconditional devotion to his art. Pavlova emerges from this close eye-witness report not only as a ballerina on the stage, but as a warm-hearted, kind and altogether lovable personality. Indeed, Algeranoff has provided a document which is of lasting value to the history of the ballet, and a touching homage to his illustrious partner.

The Far East plays a big part in this book, as the dances of Asia, in particular of Japan, made a deep and lasting impression on the author. The company visited Japan in 1922, danced in Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka, Kyoto and in Kyushu, and in addition gave a number of one night stands. Algeranoff seems to have been singled out very early in the visit as the one to benefit most from a carefully guided study of Japanese dance technique. His comparisons are enlightening—the feet are turned in instead of out, the knees are bent; when the foot is raised, the instep is hooked instead of being stretched; the absence of the convex curve of the instep cultivated by the ballet dancer is compensated for by the curve of the back of the hand and the stretched

fingers. The movement is extremely smooth and the plane of performance somehow seems to be spatially lower than that of the ballet—the influence, in part, but not entirely, of the bent knee. In addition to these technical observations, there is much evidence of the impact Asia has made on the whole outlook of this distinguished artist and, therefore, on his valuable book.

G.H.

### Snow Country by YASUNARI KAWABATA. Translated by EDWARD SEIDENSTICKER (Secker and Warburg, 14s.)

Edward Seidensticker's translation of Kawabata's novel set in a hot-spring resort of north-western Japan, is the first book chosen by UNESCO and The International PEN in a series of translations of works by contemporary authors writing in languages not widely known. It is to be hoped that the series continues as it has started, for the choice is indeed felicitous; Seidensticker's unobtrusive technique and his instinctive, by now almost Japanese feel, marry well with the *haiku* manner—the terseness, the brief flash, the fusion of motion and stillness—which is the ancestor of the literary line in which Kawabata has been put. All along, there is the juxtaposition of opposites—the still snow, the boiling springs; the vital, bustling geisha Komako and her love for the detached dilettante Shimamura. In the end, with the backcloth of a conflagration amidst the snow, the desire destroys.

G.B.

### Asien, Erdteil der Entscheidung by WALTER LEIFER (Marienburg-Verlag, Würzburg, DM14.80)

"When, in autumn 1953, Israeli groups (sic!) pounced upon the Jordanian village of Kibya and massacred approximately fifty peaceful peasants with their wives and children, the Great Powers reprimanded Israel through the Organisation of the United Nations and the USA, and this was of greater importance, decided to provisionally stop their aid programme. At that time, among other things, the goods which were delivered to Israel in accord with the German-Israeli reparation agreement, saved the country (Israel) from state bankruptcy."

Sweeping statements like this one, distortions of fact, wrong spelling of names, pervade the whole book which, to all appearances, was intended as not less than an overall picture of the "continent of decision" but is nothing but a compilation of newspaper reports and undigested perusal of obsolete geopolitical lectures peppered with racial prejudices reminiscent of Nazism. Here is one of these pearls: "The Jews, to the average European the gypsies of civilisation, the eternal foreigners from Asia, are, to the Asiatic countries, nothing but—Europeans." Luckily, the average European is not always the eternal Germaniac.

J.K.

### Empire Information Project (Atlas) (Educational Productions, 42s.)

This handsomely produced collection of detachable wall charts successfully attempts to provide concise information on all parts of the colonial Empire. Accurate and well-compiled background is given in the text, and the 43 colourful sheets carry effective illustrations which make the maps come alive and convey the atmosphere of each of the regions. The atlas, produced in close cooperation with the British Society for International Understanding, is an ideal aid for lecturers and teachers.

G.E.

**St. Antony's Papers, No. II; Far Eastern Affairs, No. 1 edited by G. F. HUDSON (Chatto & Windus, 12s. 6d.)**

Quite a lot of useful material on the study of contemporary affairs has come out of St. Antony's College, Oxford, since its foundation in 1950. It is the intention of the college to gather together the papers read at the seminars and publish them from time to time. No. 1 on Soviet affairs has already appeared, and now we have the second group, covering the Far East.

Some names well known to students of Asian affairs appear in the collection, like G. F. Hudson, G. E. Harvey, and D. E. Watkins; there are also some new ones such as Saul Rose (one time international secretary of the British Labour Party), and Rhagavan Iyer. The last named has produced an excellent comparative study of economic planning in India and China. He concludes, from his analysis, that planning in China will produce results faster and more spectacularly than India, but that in India they will be based upon more solid social foundations and will "command more widespread acceptance."

In a paper on the Imperial Impact on Backward Countries, G. L. Arnold says that modern nationalism is concerned with control over the capitalist (which he calls modern) sector of the economy. In his opinion the growth of the whole economy depends on the growth of this sector. "This," he goes on, "is the core of the Communist united front strategy." Everyone in a colonial country, every class, is in opposition to the imperial power in control which, the author says, makes for the "emergence of political movements uniting entrepreneurs and workers." Because nationalism is outside the class conflict, Mr. Arnold is of the opinion that a victorious nationalist movement can successfully hold its own against the Communist Party, even among the workers.

J.W.T.C.

**American Colonial Careerist by GEORGE A. MALCOLM (Christopher Publishing House, Boston, \$5.00)**

This is the record of a career that must be unique in the public service of the United States, the story of half a century in colonial administration in the Philippines and Puerto Rico. It covers almost the whole of the period from the taking over of the Philippines from Spain to the granting of full self-government to those islands and an important period during which the island of Puerto Rico likewise achieved independence. Unlike other colonial powers, the United States set out to train the peoples of their unsought-for empire to manage their own affairs and Justice Malcolm is rightly proud of the fact that he played an important part in the process. In a long career in the Philippines he rose from a minor civil servant to be head of the College of Law (where he helped to educate many of the present judges of the Supreme Court) and to serve in twenty years as a judge as a leading exponent of constitutional law and a writer of standard works on the subject. Later in the Caribbean, as Attorney General of Puerto Rico, he witnessed the creation of another free state from a colony.

He has much to say that is instructive to the student of Far Eastern history, being especially interesting in his account of the problems posed by statesmen relying on personal rule and not always respecters of such democratic notions as the independence of the Judiciary. One could

wish, however, that he had not produced such a comprehensive catalogue of top ranking officials but had curtailed his references to some personalities who made little contribution to the record of voluntary imperial liquidation.

B.E.H.F.

**A Barbarian in India by RALF OPPENHEJM (Phoenix, 21s.)**

No hint of the *sahib* about Mr. Oppenhejm, he travels India as far as the nerve centres. As a tourist he sees all the sights and moreover he has the gift of a wonderful prose, and of Kathleen John as his translator. But like the Indians themselves he is as much taken up with "men and personalities," and as a "barbarian" Dane must needs find out what makes them spiritually unique and often so incomprehensible. His critical faculty is not at all impaired by the beauty and novelty of what he describes, as it would be with many a tourist. The Taj Mahal, the ritual on the Ganges, the foreign pockets along the coast — India's notable landmarks as well as some of the less publicised such as Bombay's "red light" district — are viewed here together with idea, custom and opinion.

He is perplexed by Indian marriage traditions, by the inviolable calm of the peasant who "bears everything, submits to everything" and by the widow who commits *sati*. Yet in this last instant, in his last chapter, when the woman gives herself to the fire of death and supreme love, he seems to have caught India's soul in his words. Though he will not presume to understand it he has pursued it as few travellers can have done. As a journey into place and people, this is the ideal travel book.

SYDNEY HARRINGTON WILSON

**Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History by MUHSIN MEHDI (Allen & Unwin, 30s.)**

This scholastic study for the first time makes a successful attempt at explaining the intricate philosophy of Ibn Khaldun who interpreted the science of history as a "science of culture" to deal with the historical developments and changes that were taking place in the Islamic world in the Middle Ages, particularly in North Africa, Muslim Spain and Egypt. Dr. Mahdi makes a thoroughgoing examination and analysis of the principles of Khaldun's new science of culture against the background of Classical and Islamic philosophy.

The life span of this great Muslim thinker of Tunisia covered the last two-thirds of the fourteenth century and most of the first decade of the fifteenth. He articulately, though cautiously, defended the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle against Neo-Platonism, atomism and logical nominalism and yet felt that he had to construct a new science to deal specifically with the nature and causes of human culture in preparation for the writing of an adequate history of his time and region. Hence he defined his new science of culture as a tool for understanding and writing history.

The author very ably brings out the cardinal fact that Khaldun was the only great Muslim thinker who not only saw the problems of the relation of history and the science of society to traditional political philosophy but also tried to develop a science of society within the framework of traditional philosophy and based on its principles.

L.A.

**Kyoto Alive—76 Colour Photographs by MIA BREST**  
*(Tokyo News Service, Tokyo. No price)*

Mia Brest, a well known New York photographer, presents her impressions of Kyoto, Japan's imperial city. This is an unusual collection of superb colour photographs, made, selected and captioned by a remarkable artist. Mia Brest is a highly skilled photographer whose handling of the technicalities is beyond dispute. These are subjective photographs and subjective captions which by their terseness do not detract the attention (a common fault of many photo-books), yet are sufficient to convey the impressions and the thoughts of the artist.

Japan, and particularly Kyoto are frequent subjects for the camera. The features of the country and its people lend themselves to photography not only to visiting westerners,

but also to the Japanese themselves. This reviewer had the privilege of seeing Mia Brest working in Japan and was deeply impressed by her painstaking devotion and penetrating understanding. Mia Brest saw more than most visitors to Kyoto. She looked deeper, below the surface which is usually shown to the tourist. Mia Brest saw "Kyoto Alive," she saw her people, the people of Kyoto, conscious of their artistic tradition and guarding the skills they inherited from their ancestors. The intricate process of making a paper fan, the weaving of magnificent silk brocades, the complicated choreography of Geisha dancing and the elaborate stages of a tea ceremony — all of them are captured with the same mastership characterised by a sensitive understanding of shape, light and colour.

J.O.R.

## THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE IN PRAGUE

By *Ladislav Zgusta*

THE Oriental Institute in Prague was inaugurated in 1928 as a state-subsidised but independent institution with the main tasks of publishing books on Oriental subjects, the establishment of a library, and the organisation of various courses and lectures, learned and popular. On the whole, the Institute at that time had more the character of a learned society which had the means to promote and stimulate studies—and it must be said that the old Institute did very much in this direction—but which could not undertake any work of its own because it had no scientific staff.

This situation has been radically changed in 1945 and especially in 1952 when the Oriental Institute became part of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences then founded. Within the new organisation, the main task of the Institute is research work on all aspects of the history, life, culture and philology of the Oriental countries, provided it is based exclusively on first-hand, original material. The meaning of this important proviso is, that, e.g. a study in economics of an Oriental country is not considered acceptable for any of the Institute's scientific publications if its sources are secondhand, say foreign newspapers and translated publications.

To comply with this task, the Institute is divided into four scientific departments. The new organisation of the Institute is principally the work of the present director, Prof. Prusek. In the department *Ancient Near East*, problems of the economy and law of Mesopotamia are studied and pertinent cuneiform texts from Prague collections are edited. As far as philological problems of this region are concerned, we concentrate, for the time being, mainly on Hittite syntax and on the onomastics of Asia Minor. There is also some work being done on the epichoric languages of Asia Minor known from inscriptions.

The second department is concerned with the *Mediaeval and Modern Near East*. Work here is concentrated upon social developments in Mediaeval Persia—the movements of Mazdak and Mani—Persian and Tadjik literature is being studied and an edition of Mahzan-al-Asrar is now being prepared. Another important task of this department is an edition, with translations and commentary, of Arabian sources pertinent to the history and ethnography of the Mediaeval Slaves and Eastern Europe in general. Hebrew and comparative Semitic grammar are being studied in this section; the main stress at present being given to the analysis of Ugaritic texts. Also, a detailed history of the

Turkish wars, as far as they touched Czechoslovakia, is being written. For a detailed analysis of the economic consequences of these wars, work is now starting on the palaeography and diplomacy in the Turkish documents in our archives. African studies too, belong to this department. However, as this branch is under-staffed for the time being, we concentrate mainly on Suaheli and on comparative studies of the Bantu languages in general.

In the department *India and Central Asia*, problems of the pre-Vedic, Vedic and later societies are studied. As far as questions of Indian philosophy are concerned, we concentrate now mainly on an analysis of Patanjali, and among problems of the history of literature, on the life and work of Rabindranath Tagore, and on Bengali popular ballads. Work is now beginning on Urdu Literature. Tamil is also a field of studies in this department: the main attention is being given to the anthology Narrinai, and the analysis is planned to proceed to more recent sources. Further studies on the Tokharian and Tibetan languages are carried out and grammars of these languages are being prepared. The department also occupies itself with the linguistic problems of the Indonesian languages, and as this branch of studies has only recently been founded, the main efforts have been directed to the compilation of a primer and reader.

In the *Far East* department the majority of scientific workers devote their time to the problems of the Chinese language and literature. Thus, we are now preparing a modern grammar of spoken Chinese, exclusively based on recent conversational material gained from Chinese cooperators. In connection with this work, problems of the Chinese words and verbal modifications are analysed. As far as literature is concerned, we deal mainly with the life and work of P'u Sung-ling—17th century—and of Lu Hsin, whose works are systematically translated and analysed. Besides that, a number of monographs on modern Chinese literature are being prepared. In addition studies are now beginning on ancient and recent Chinese history. In the field of Mongolian languages a comparative Mongolian grammar is under preparation. Japanese, Burmese and Vietnamese studies have only been introduced recently so that we are, for the time being, mainly collecting material.

Pursuing their studies, the members of the Institute's staff have travelled very extensively in China, Viet Nam, Mongolia and the Caucasus. At present they are visiting Indonesia and will go to Tibet. Journeys to India and Syria are also being prepared.

It will be observed that not all branches of Oriental studies are represented in the Institute. The reason for this is that it was only after the second World War that measures were taken to

undertake full-time research in this field, so that the Institute is still understaffed. Yet Oriental studies are also undertaken at the Faculty of Philology of the Caroline University and include branches up to now not represented in our Institute like Egyptology, Turk languages, Indian religions, as well as Japanese and Korean languages, literature and history. The main difference between the Institute and the faculty is, that whereas a member of the Institute's staff has only research work as his official duty—if he cares to accept an invitation to lecture at the University, it is his private affair for which he is paid separately and which must not interfere with his researches—an employee of the faculty has to teach students and devotes only the remainder of his time to research work. As the Academy of Sciences and its various affiliations—like the Oriental Institute—are considered by law as the highest organisational units in the respective field of science, future plans of work, manuscripts submitted for publication and similar common topics are discussed in joint sessions of the employees of the Institute and the Faculty, so that any possibility of overlapping with resulting waste of work and time is fairly excluded.

There is in Prague a School of Oriental Languages, supervised by the Oriental Institute, which arranges evenings courses in 17 Oriental languages, with the aim of providing interested persons, irrespective of their former education, a working knowledge of the language in question.

It is quite impossible to give within this short space a survey of the Institute's publications. It may suffice to mention that it publishes two periodicals (*Archiv Orientální*, a scientific journal printed in English, Russian, French and German, which has some 680 pages per volume and is now in its 25th year, and *Novy Orient*—The New East—a popular journal published in Czech), scientific monographs on various subjects of Oriental studies (the majority of them in foreign languages), and translations of Oriental authors into Czech.

Besides the scientific departments, the Oriental Institute has several auxiliary departments, amongst them that of bibliography. As it is beyond the possibility of a scientific worker to follow all journals in which he may find a paper of interest, and as there is no central bibliography in our field, the employees of this department read regularly 251, and according to need another 76 pertinent journals, and make index-cards of the matters discussed therein and of the authors of the contributions. It may be mentioned that not only journals appearing in European languages, but also 9 journals published in Turkish, 8 journals in Chinese, 7 written in Korean, 3 in Persian, and altogether 40 journals printed in different Oriental languages are systematically read and their contents indexed. Although the department of bibliography has been in existence for about four years only, it possesses now some 100,000 index-cards, the present rate of increase being approximately 30,000 cards per year.

The general library of the Institute has more than 40,000 volumes augmenting their numbers by over 4,000 volumes per year. Besides that, there exists in the Institute a special library of Chinese texts containing more than 41,000 volumes to which roughly about 5,000 volumes are being added per year, so that it may be considered the biggest Chinese library in Central Europe.

In order to get new publications as quickly as possible, the Institute has a department of exchange. As the majority of its scientific publications are printed in English, French, German and Russian, this department is able to maintain a regular exchange with 253 institutions in 43 countries in the world. In addition to this they received 306 different scientific journals and many other publications are bought in the normal way.

In the future the Institute plans to extend its activities by enlarging its staff in the fields hitherto not represented and increase the staff and stocks of its library and bibliographical documentation. It is also intended to found an affiliated Institute in Bratislava (Slovakia).

## Spain and Japan — Early Diplomatic Relations (I)

By Joachim O. Ronall

JAPAN'S first contacts with the West were made, during the Sixteenth Century, by the Portuguese and the Spaniards. A little later, the Dutch and the English appeared on the Japanese scene. All of them were interested in trade. So were the Japanese. Portugal and Spain had an additional aim—the propagation of the Catholic faith. The first acquaintances between Japan and the western countries led to rivalries and competition. The conflicts between Spain and Portugal resulted in the ultimate expulsion of both from Japan. It is difficult, therefore, to consider Japanese relations with these countries separately. However, the following study deals, as far as possible, with the early connections between Spain and Japan since the merit of having been the first of the western nations to enter into official diplomatic relations with Japan, belongs to Spain.

The sources for the period are ample. They are the reports and the descriptions given by the competing sides, presenting events and developments through the eyes of the participants in a bitter struggle for commercial, political and religious privileges. The Christian chroniclers of the period, Jesuits and Franciscans, and the Japanese historians have been amply used by modern writers. Spanish secular material seems to have been somewhat neglected.

In 1925, a number of Japanese personalities approached Mr

Jose Muñoz, at that time professor of Spanish at the University for Foreign Languages in Japan, with the request for material and cooperation of the Spanish Government to erect in Japan a monument in honour of Don Rodriguez de Vivero y Velasco, one of the first Governor Generals of the Philippines. The Japanese group represented an association for keeping alive the memory of Europeans who had rendered meritorious service to Japan. Vivero was one of them. He was the first European to enter, on behalf of the King of Spain, Philip III (1598-1621), officially into diplomatic relations with Japan. Professor Munoz transmitted the Japanese request to Mr. D. F. de Carranza, then head of the Spanish representation in Japan. Research was instituted at the Indian Archives at Seville. The result was published by a Spanish naval physician, Don Cristobal Ariza Torres, in Seville and Madrid in 1925 and 1926 respectively under the title:—*Datos Históricos sobre D. Rodriguez de Vivero y el General Sebastian Vizcaino, encontrados en el Archivo de Indias*. On November 29, 1925, the Spanish Council of Ministers approved the participation in the erection of the monument for Vivero "por haber sido el primero en establecer relaciones diplomáticas entre España y Japón." These relations stretched over a period of 32 years, from 1592 when the first contacts were established until the expulsion of the Spaniards from Japan, in 1624. The history

of these relations is a rather tragic one. They led eventually to the isolation of Japan for a period of more than 200 years (1637-1853) and to the expulsion of all foreigners from Japanese soil — with the exception of the privileged, though hardly enviable position of the Dutch at Deshima.

The first Europeans to reach Japan, in 1542, were three Portuguese mariners on a Chinese boat, Fernandez Mendez Pinto, Diego Taimoto and Cristobal Borello. Portuguese traders held an undisputed monopoly over all commerce with Japan. It was confirmed by a Concordate in 1580. Likewise, exclusivity was reserved in religious matters for the Jesuits who, in their oriental missions, had been from the beginning under Portuguese patronage. This arrangement, too, was sanctioned by a Bull of Pope Gregory XIII, in 1585. It was practically in force from the arrival of Xavier in 1549 until Spanish Franciscans reached Japan in 1593.

The story of Spanish-Japanese relations begins in 1585 when two Japanese Daimyos, Harada and Omura, tried to contact Don Santiago de Vera, Spanish Governor General of the Philippines. Their object was to break the Portuguese trade monopoly in Japan. For that reason, they proposed to the Spaniards commercial advantages. Comprehensive reports were submitted by the Governor General to the King of Spain, Philip II (1556-1598), particularly in a detailed letter, dated June 26, 1586. However, it ought to be remembered that the rivalry between Spain and Portugal, during that time, was not a political one for from 1580 until 1640 the crowns of the two countries were united. This period includes the time of the present study. The Governor General did not see his way to reply to the Japanese emissaries directly. They returned to Japan to wait there for the Spanish reaction to their proposals. In 1592 only, the new Governor General at Manila, Don Gomez Perez Dasmariñaz, sent a Spanish priest, Juan de los Cobos, accompanied by Antonio Lopez to Japan. The embassy was well received by Hideyoshi, the unifier of Japan. However, on their return to the Philippines the envoys were shipwrecked and perished.

A second embassy set out from Manila on May 20, 1593. It consisted of Franciscans, Pedro Bautista and three others. They sailed on a Portuguese vessel owned by Pedro Gonzales de Carvajal. Carrying official, ambassadorial credentials from the Governor General they were to propose to Hideyoshi — whom all Westerners took for the Emperor of Japan — a treaty of friendship and commerce. The envoys did not restrict themselves to diplomatic negotiations. Soon after their arrival they began missionary activities in which their force was strengthened by the arrival from Manila of three more Franciscan friars. Questioned by the Portuguese Jesuits about their missionary work, and about the validity of the Papal Bull, the Franciscans replied that they had come as ambassadors and not as missionaries. It was unavoidable that they encountered not only the rivalry of the Jesuits, but also the suspicions of the Japanese. These rivalries are the main reason, incidentally, why any study of the source material requires rather careful and judicious appraisal. All western chroniclers, as mentioned before, belong to one of the two sides. Even Will Adams, the English adviser to the Shogun who enters the picture a little later, in 1600, is not free from religious and national bias.

At first, the Japanese authorities did not interfere with the missionary activities of the Portuguese and the Spaniards. They realised the advantages of foreign relations. In religious matters they obviously maintained the view of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi's predecessor. When asked for the permission of Christian priests to missionarise in Japan, he replied that he did not see any objection to it in a country where already some twenty different religious sects were active; one more did not matter. However, towards the end of 1596 the famous incident of the Spanish galleon "San Felipe" resulted in a change of the Japanese attitude.

A typhoon had driven the vessel under Captain Landecho and its rich cargo from its route to Acapulco on to the coast



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of Tosa on Shikoku Island. The captain of the galleon had gone to Osaka to negotiate there the release of his valuable cargo, claimed by the local Daimyo. Meanwhile the pilot who had remained with the vessel, understandably concerned about his own lot, his crew and the cargo, tried to intimidate the local Japanese authorities by extolling the power of Spain. Helped by a map of the world, he explained the many conquests Spain had made in all parts of the world. When asked how it was possible for so many countries to be brought under Spanish domination, the pilot, rather imprudently, replied that Spain first sends priests into the countries she would like to possess, to convert the natives who later combine forces with the Spanish troops when they arrive, so that there is "not much trouble in accomplishing the rest." The veracity of this incident has been asserted by Jesuit sources, but not by the Franciscans.

Whether or not the pilot's speech is historical, the fact remains that subsequently, and perhaps consequently, the first anti-Christian measures were taken by the Japanese. An edict of 1587 which had remained a dead letter was now enforced. 26 priests were executed. The Governor General of the Philippines protested to the Shogun. The latter replied that the friars had violated the law of the country by interfering with its internal affairs, that the Japanese would not trespass on the religious reservations of the foreign residents in Japan, and that the Governor General was a liberty to deal likewise with any Japanese violating Spanish law in the Philippines. On September 16, 1598, Hideyoshi died — three days after Philip II of Spain. The first chapter of Spanish-Japanese relations was closed.

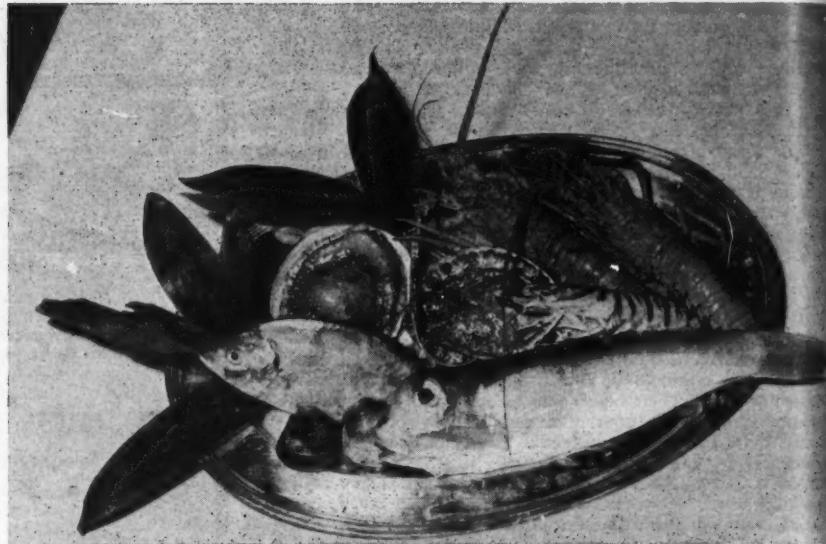
(To be concluded)

Note: The writer is indebted to the Permanent Secretary of The Royal Academy for History in Madrid for having made accessible pertinent material.

# JAPAN IN YOUR OWN KITCHEN

By

**Sumiye Hiramoto Gluck**  
*(Hiroshima)*



THE mystic Orient—land of silks and spices—has emerged from this veil of exoticism and is fast becoming a topic for table-talk in the western world. Silk, bamboo, and hand-made paper articles, lacquerware and other products along with the recent trend of Japanese architectural influence has brought Japan into the familiarity of many western homes.

Adopting oriental tastes in home decor has whetted the appetite for oriental foods. Many of us sitting down to our first Japanese meal are struck by the beauty of the setting—both the varied utensils used and the studied arrangement in each individual dish. Let the eye combine with taste buds to fully appreciate the natural flavour is the principle of Japanese cookery, while the West places more emphasis on the olfactory sense. Unlike the western setting where the dinner plate suffices for the main course, the Japanese have two to four smaller dishes—a deep round or gracefully curved four-sided dish for cooked vegetables; a flat long and narrow oval for fish; or flat circular or rectangular for meats—all in different colours, designs and textures.

Great care is given to preparation of each dish—each must be artistically planned and must blend into the whole picture. We find tiny orchids, dozens of red and green edible grasses; touches of colour added with sprigs of green; and all types of raw vegetables artistically cut garnishing most of the dishes. The first lesson at cooking school is to learn how to use knives properly. There's a special broad rectangular knife and a pointed one for vegetables. One learns to slice cucumbers paper thin; sculpt chrysanthemum flowers out of turnips, and roses out of radishes; carrots are a base for different shaped flowers; the long white radishes, carrots, cucumbers and turnips are sliced into thread-like shreds.

Visiting an average kitchen we find that boiling, stewing, frying, steaming and barbecuing are the methods used. There is usually no oven, but steaming in a tightly-lidded steamer and barbecuing over charcoal take the place of baking. Chinese food is rich with a blended and mixed flavour; while the Japanese preserve the original flavour of each portion. Some westerners find Japanese cooking too bland.

Just what do they use for seasoning? A look on the pantry shelf reveals salt, sugar, soya bean sauce, soya bean paste, vinegar and the indispensable seasoning powder. *Hichimi* (seven native spices mixed), mustard, sesame seeds (black and white) and a few herbs just about complete the list.

Soya sauce, most often used in combination with sugar, is the backbone of this group. It is a dark brown sauce brewed from wheat, soya beans and salt and resembles Worcestershire without the tang; while soya bean paste resembles coarse peanut butter in

consistency with a saltier flavour.

The so-called Japanese dishes *sukiyaki* and *tempura* exemplify Japanese cuisine to the western world, and rightfully so. Although *sukiyaki* (meat was considered food for barbarians until early Meiji—1868-1912) and *tempura* which was introduced by the early Europeans in Nagasaki are not native dishes; the Japanese have developed them into culinary masterpieces. A carefully arranged *sukiyaki* tray of raw meats and vegetables is a colourful picture before it is cooked in front of the guests at the table; while no other but a Japanese chef can give such a light crispy coating to deep-fried shrimp *tempura*.

However, there are loads of other representative Japanese dishes and a hasty examination of the eight to ten dishes that comprise a rather elaborate dinner discloses that basically a dinner isn't too different. Instead of canape and pre-dinner drinks, green tea and sweets are served in a large tatami-matted room. There's a wonderful custom that should be adopted by all nations—the use of hot or cold towels to wipe the hands, while men use it more freely to wipe their faces and even necks. Individual small towels, very often on individual trays and slightly perfumed, are brought out—piping hot in winter and refreshingly cool in summer—to each guest before tea is served. At some restaurants baths are provided and guests change into the comfort of fresh cotton kimonos provided by the establishment and dine in complete relaxation.

Additional low tables are brought out and the living room is quickly transformed to a dining room. Guests are seated on thick cushions at the low tables. *Kuchi-tori* (canapes) and warm *sake* (rice wine) are served with the meal, most of which is set before the guest at once. We find clear soup, *sashimi* (raw-fish filleted), salad, boiled vegetables, vegetables cooked with seafood (or meat or chicken), *chawan-mushi* (egg custard), broiled fish and a meat or fowl entree. During this time warm *sake* is continuously served and when they've had enough *sake*, rice is brought out along with pickles, thick *miso* (bean-paste) soup and toasted tea. The dinner usually ends with fruits and green tea.

What's different is that most of the Japanese dishes are served cold, including the broiled fish and vegetables. Consequently, there are few fatty dishes. I found that most of the other dishes can be served "hot," but the Japanese don't care to and in the second place they don't have facilities to keep them warm. Soups, steamed foods, rice, *sake* and tea are served hot.

In a Japanese meal, vegetables play a very important part and appear as relishes, fresh vegetables vinegared, boiled vegetables eaten with soy sauce or mixed with certain dressings, similar to

our salads. Vegetables in season are cooked with various meats and fish and seasoned with soya sauce, salt and sugar.

Raw vegetables sliced thin or shredded (cucumbers, radishes, carrots, Chinese radish, cabbages, lettuce) are rubbed with salt and excess water squeezed out. Mix equal quantities of vinegar and soya sauce, adding a dash of seasoning powder. Substituting lemon for vinegar certainly improves the flavour.

Another basic recipe calls for equal parts of vinegar, soya sauce and *mirin* (sweet rice wine for which sherry plus a small quantity of sugar is a good substitution). Bring to boil, cool and use. Boiled shrimp, crab, or lobster are often served with these vegetables. Some cooked vegetables (boiled turnips, cauliflower, asparagus, broccoli) while green vegetables (spinach, Chinese cabbage, Swiss chard) are good with just soy sauce and seasoning powder.

In cooking vegetables, care is taken to retain the bright green of vegetables and the form of others. Careful cooks always prepare a stock from dried bonita shavings (*katsuo-bushi*) and dried tangle (*kelp*) in which the vegetable is first partially boiled and then add sugar, continue boiling until sugar permeates all; then add soya sauce. Unseasoned beef or chicken stock with a pinch of seasoning powder will do. Recommended seasoning is 4 parts stock to 1 part of soya sauce and 1 part *mirin* or sugar. Add sugar before salt or soya sauce because the latter shrinks the vegetables and sugar will not penetrate easily.

When meat or seafood is to be combined with vegetables, it is cooked first in the stock and then vegetables are cooked in the same stock to take advantage of the added flavouring.

There's usually one broiled dish. It may be smaller fish, shrimp or lobster rubbed with salt or it may be quails, chicken or fish steaks dipped in a soya sauce-sugar mixture and broiled over charcoal. The fish are heavily salted and carefully skewered to keep a graceful form. The chicken is placed on a wire rack, and during the broiling period is dipped two or three times in the special sauce. The recipe calls for: 3 tablespoons sake (rice wine) or sherry; 3 tablespoons soya sauce; 2 tablespoons sugar. Boil together. Broil chicken, (chicken liver and giblets on skewers). When partially broiled, dip in sauce; repeat three or four times.

With fryers, it's better to make a sauce of the following. (Soak overnight or few hours in it).  $\frac{1}{2}$  cup soya sauce;  $\frac{1}{2}$  cup *mirin* (sherry); 4 tablespoons sugar; 2 tablespoons fresh grated ginger; 1 clove of garlic grated;  $\frac{1}{2}$  teaspoon seasoning powder.

While broiling, dip two or three times in sauce. If sesame seeds are available, roll chicken in it after last dipping and boil. Can be cooked over charcoal on rack or in broiler or even in oven at high temperature.

But let's get on with the specialities. *Sukiyaki* is one that can be prepared anywhere in the world as long as soya sauce is available. It's a particularly good dish for cooler weather for all of the cooking is done right at the table, using a charcoal brazier, a strong electric hotplate or gas jet.

A large platter is brought out with a colourful array of the meat and vegetables. An ideal portion may be as follows for one person: 6-8oz. of beef (sliced thinly);  $\frac{1}{2}$  cup stock; 3 tablespoons soya sauce; 2 tablespoons sugar; 1 teaspoon *mirin* (sherry);  $\frac{1}{2}$  cake *tofu* (bean curd cake); 2 stalks Japanese leeks; 4 medium mushrooms;  $\frac{1}{2}$  cup *shirataki* (vermicelli); 1oz. watercress.

Many of these items may not be available, but there's a great variety of ingredients that can be changed. Instead of beef, chicken and chicken giblets, pork, wild boar, venison and fish can be used. Vegetables in season may be substituted—celery cut into thin diagonal strips, sliced onion rings, Chinese cabbage, asparagus, green pepper rings, and bean sprouts can be added raw; but it's best to parboil spinach, broccoli, cauliflower or others with strong acid tastes or smells that will overpower everything else.

The most common method is to place a thick skillet, preferably iron, on heat and grease hot pan with suet and quickly add some of the beef. Add 2 tablespoons of sugar, 3 tablespoons of soya sauce, a teaspoon of *mirin* (a teaspoon of sherry and some sugar) and about one-third cup of stock (beef or chicken stock). Move the beef to one side and add some of the *tofu* and vegetables. Taste the sauce and season to suit oneself. For this reason,

there's always a pitcher of soya sauce, bowl of sugar, a bottle of *mirin* and the stock handy. If the vegetables give off too much water, then more seasoning is needed and possibly no stock.

As soon as the ingredients are ready, everyone helps himself to some, while the hostess adds more meat, vegetables and seasoning. So you can have both your meat and vegetables rare, medium or well-done.

A raw egg is placed in a small bowl for each guest and those who like may beat the egg and dip the hot food in it. Many may have an aversion to raw eggs, but it is cooked by the heat of the meat and also serves to cool off the hot meat. Warm *sake* is often served with *sukiyaki*. Rice in individual bowls is served after a few rounds of *sukiyaki*; but many prefer to have the rice from the beginning.

Two other cold weather favourites of mine are *Yose-nabe* and *Mizu-taki*, both of which are cooked right on the table like *sukiyaki*. *Yose-nabe* can be called "pot-pourri pot" (*yose* means bring together; *nabe* is pot) and the best from the land and the sea are skilfully mixed in this stew. A recipe for five calls for: 5 slices of *tai* (sea bream) cubed (halibut, flounder or cod will do); 5 *sillago* (a long, thin fish); 1 squid; 5 prawns; 10 oysters; 6-10 scallops;  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. boned chicken; 10 medium clams; 1 bunch vermicelli;  $\frac{1}{2}$  head Chinese cabbage; 1 boiled bamboo shoot; 5 mushrooms; 5 water chestnuts; 15 gingko nuts;  $\frac{1}{2}$  bunch *mitsuba* (water-cress).

This is an ideal combination, but it may be varied according to availability and taste. Different shell-fish (abalone, crabs or lobsters); duck; fine noodles for vermicelli; swiss chard, cabbage, spinach or celery for greens, may be substituted very simply.

The fish is cleaned and cubed. The *sillago* filleted and each half tied into a knot. The squid is cleaned and only the white flesh used—score it with crossing diagonals and cut into small squares. Wash oysters and scallops in salt water. Shell prawns and clean. Slice chicken into small strips. Boil vermicelli and cut. Parboil Chinese cabbage and lay three or four leaves alternately tip and toe . . . then roll tightly lengthwise and cut into  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. rolls. Slice bamboo diagonally. Slice mushrooms lengthwise. Remove outer shell and skin of gingko nuts and boil. Cut water-cress into short strips.

Make three cups of soup stock with  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. bonita shavings and  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. dried tangle, adding  $\frac{1}{2}$  cup of rice wine, 1 tablespoon salt, 1 teaspoon soya sauce and  $\frac{1}{2}$  teaspoon of seasoning salt. Bring to boil in saucepan to remove smell of fresh *sake*.

Arrange all ingredients in *nabe* (usually a lovely folk pot), keeping colour balance. Cover with stock and place over fire. When it starts to simmer, start helping yourself, and enjoying the soup, too.

*Mizutaki* is the favourite of many and very easy to prepare. It requires 1 chicken, small dried onions, 1 bamboo shoot, 2 stalks celery (or 5 asparagus), 5 fresh mushrooms, 15 gingko nuts, some snow peas (or other greens) and  $\frac{1}{2}$  package of vermicelli. For western tastes, small turnips, brussels sprouts, carrots and potatoes short time and then plunge into cold water and drain. This helps may be added.

Disjoin chicken and blanch (submerge in boiling water for a to keep the stock clear. Place  $1\frac{1}{2}$  quarts of water and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pints of *sake* (sherry). Add one onion quartered and the chicken; bring to boil and simmer slowly for 2 hours. Remove fat and keep stock clear.

Wash and cut all vegetables and parboil in separate pan, taking some of the chicken stock. Soak vermicelli until tender and drain. Arrange chicken and all other ingredients in *nabe* and cover with chicken stock. Put over *hichirin* (charcoal brazier) at table and bring to boil.

Salt, pepper and bay leaf may be added, although the Japanese prefer to dip the various foods into a prepared citrus sauce. *Ponzo* juice, very much like grapefruit, with a bit of soy sauce topped with thinly sliced Japanese scallions, is placed in individual bowls.

We're always ready for new adventures, so why not try these in your kitchen?

## ILLICIT DRUGS SEIZED BY U.N.

*By J. Avery Joyce*

**G**ENEVA, October. — Fifty tons of raw opium, smuggled across national frontiers, were seized last year by agents working for the UN in a number of countries, according to figures revealed here recently by the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs, which has its offices in Geneva. As in previous years, this traffic appears to be concentrated in the regions of the Far East and the Near and Middle East. The opium discovered in the illicit traffic was derived from licit as well as from clandestine cultivation, and moved by both land and sea routes.

The United Kingdom officials have admitted that a "critical" illicit traffic situation exists in Hong Kong, the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, which imposes an "almost intolerable burden" on their enforcement and administrative services. An observer from Thailand described to the Commission the efforts of Thai authorities to intercept the smuggling of opium, particularly from the northern land frontiers, into his country. On the other hand, no official information is available from Burma regarding illicit traffic during 1956, and the Commission has asked the Secretary-General to urge that government to submit such information in accordance with the international narcotics treaties.

In the Near and Middle East there appears to be no abatement in the opium traffic. Egypt has reported substantial seizures; the usual routes of smuggling being either across the eastern frontiers, via the Sinai Desert, or on board steamships via Egyptian ports or the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The observer from Israel, however, maintains that Israel is the "natural crossroads" for smuggling drugs by land from the countries in the north to the countries of consumption, particularly Egypt, and the Israel Government regrets it had not received any cooperation from neighbouring countries in the fight against the illicit traffic.

Nevertheless, the dealings in prepared opium are declining, with the bulk of these seizures also being reported by the countries in the Far East and the Near and Middle East. From these reports it is clear that the opium traffic is directed toward the substantial demand of a deep-rooted and persistent habit, despite the legal prohibition of opium-smoking almost without exception. Since the previous annual survey, the Government of Thailand has taken steps to prohibit opium-smoking, and the report expresses the hope

that this programme would be vigorously continued in order to suppress the non-medical consumption.

It should be explained that the revealing documents discussed by the UN body here were drawn up by an eight-member Committee on Illicit Traffic after examining material supplied chiefly by governments under existing international procedures set up to keep other governments and the United Nations informed of measures being taken to combat such traffic. Among "salient features," the report of this special Committee notes the ease and flexibility with which international traffickers move from country to country; the "considerable financial backing" apparent in the several narcotics smuggling "rings" that have so far been uncovered; and the "dangerous and conspiratorial methods of operation of the 'gangs.'" They also refer to the great number of difficulties confronting enforcement authorities in their investigations, particularly in the collection of evidence sufficient to lead to convictions of high-level traffickers who are "seldom personally involved in offences." The need for close cooperation among the authorities of all countries and for the prompt exchange of all pertinent information which might assist investigations is obvious and urgent.

The Commission's attention has also been called to the recently observed connection between gold smuggling and narcotics trafficking, and the wide use by traffickers of telegraphic communications and banking facilities. Commenting that enforcement authorities should not be handicapped in their "unequal struggle," the report draws attention to the "advantages to be derived from wire-tapping and to investigation of banking procedures." This suggestion throws a new light on a very controversial subject—this time from an international standpoint. The Commission's views regarding the imposition of heavy penalties on convicted traffickers are reiterated again this year. As regards individual drugs, it observes that opium and opiates were still by far the most important drugs involved in the internal and international traffic. Several clandestine factories for the manufacture of crude morphine and diacetylmorphine (heroin) were discovered during the past year, and the existence of others was suspected. The report further expresses "grave concern" at the increasing traffic in cannabis products (such as marijuana and hashish) all over the world, and it warns that use of cannabis can be considered at times as an introduction to addiction to the "white" drugs.

The traffic in cocaine on the other hand is observed generally to be at a low level. However, the report notes information given by the United States as to "significant traffic in cocaine involving Cuba, the probable sources of the drug being Bolivia or Ecuador." Information given by the United States and France regarding the growing use of Cuban territory as a base or transit point for the smuggling of narcotics between Europe and the American continent is also put on record.

Regret is expressed that the 1948 Protocol, aimed at preventing indiscriminate and widespread misuse of synthetic drugs, has not been more widely ratified. The problem of origin of drugs seized in illicit traffic is a very difficult one, apparently, since it is important to safeguard countries from ill-founded charges. However, the report concludes, the enforcement agencies must have overall knowledge of the routes followed by illicit traffic in order to combat it effectively. The Commission is appealing, therefore, to all governments to increase their own investigation on origins and, at the same time, to increase their consultations with other governments. The drug trade is a world problem and only through genuine world cooperation can it be solved.



Experimental farm at Ghazipur Opium Factory, India. Men with scoops supplied by the Opium Department, ready to collect latex from capsules already lanced

## INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES

### THE WORLD BANK AND JAPAN

The World Bank has made a loan equivalent to \$7 million to assist in the execution of a multi-purpose programme for irrigation, water supply and power in the Aichi region of central Japan which will make it possible to increase the production of food crops by about 200,000 tons annually. In addition, it will supply drinking water to numerous towns and villages, provide more water for industry in three cities, including Nagoya, Japan's third most important industrial town, and increase the power supply of the region.

The First National City Bank of New York is participating in the loan without the World Bank's guarantee to the extent of \$721,000. This amount represents the first five maturities of the loan which fall due semi-annually beginning on November 1, 1961.

The most important feature of the programme will be the perennial irrigation of 42,000 acres of land already under paddy and of 40,000 acres of upland areas. This will be Japan's first attempt to irrigate ridge lands. The experience gained in the Aichi region will demonstrate the feasibility

of using the same techniques on very much larger areas of similar land in southern Japan. If this is possible, the development at Aichi will have made a more significant contribution towards improving Japan's food supply. To feed its population of 90 million, Japan now has annual food imports costing the equivalent of \$600 million in foreign exchange. With the population increasing by one million a year, the food deficit will be much greater unless domestic production can be increased.

The loan was made to the Aichi Irrigation Public Corporation, a government agency formed in October 1955 to plan and execute the project which is expected to take four years to complete at a total cost of about \$100 million. The Bank's loan will pay for the importation of heavy machinery for the construction of a dam, canals and reservoirs, services of irrigation and construction consultants; and the training abroad of a few key personnel in the techniques of ridge land irrigation.

The Bank has now made eight loans totalling the equivalent of \$83 million in Japan. One of the previous loans was for a land reclamation project also designed to

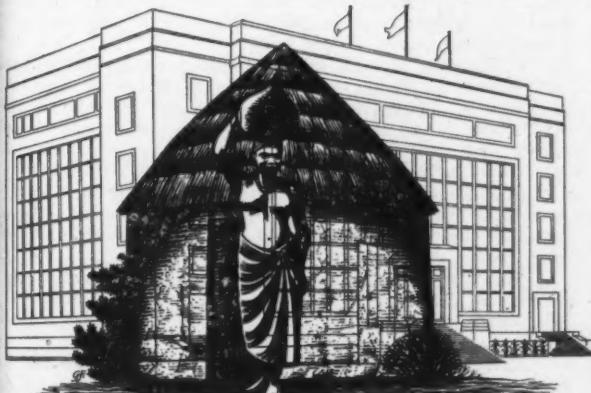
increase agricultural production. The others were for electric power development, steel production and various other industries.

### CZECH THERMAL POWER PLANTS FOR CHINA

Representatives of the Technoexport foreign trade corporation have signed contracts in Peking recently according to which Czechoslovakia will deliver equipment for six thermal power plants for an aggregate output of nearly five hundred megawatts. The power plant installations will be supplied in the period from 1958-1960. In the past few years China has been one of Czechoslovakia's biggest customers in the field of power generation installations.

### SINO-JAPANESE TRADE TALKS SUSPENDED

The suspension of Sino-Japanese trade negotiations caused great disappointment in Japan. Stumbling blocks to the signing of the 4th trade pact are the size of the permanent trade missions in both countries and Japanese guarantees for their security and the implementation of the trade agreement.



East Africa's prospects as *a country of development* are far greater than may be supposed. Rich potentialities exist amongst both the African and non-African population. The National Bank of India, which serves Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya and Zanzibar, will gladly give details of commercial conditions in this area which predominantly 'Buys British' already. Also by virtue of a close association with Grindlays Bank Limited with whom amalgamation will shortly take place, similar facilities are available also in Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Enquiries are welcomed at the Head Office or at any branch.

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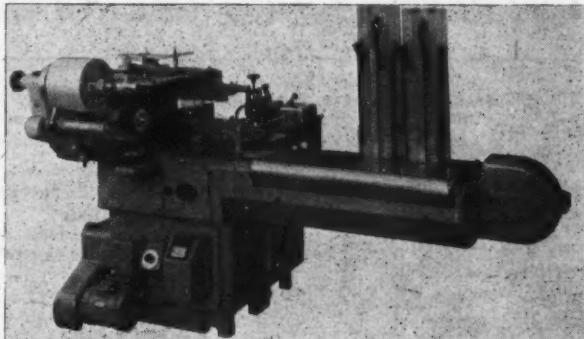


### SWISS WRAPPING MACHINES FOR ASIA

The Swiss Industrial Company (SIG), Neuhausen Rhine Falls, has a special department for the manufacturing of automatic packing machines for which, because of the industrialisation of South-East Asia and the Far East, there is a growing market throughout Asia. The types GBA and GBBA manufactured by this Company are well known in connection with packs of biscuits made up in pile formation with their automatic hopper feed saving manual counting and ranging of the biscuits into piles.

With their new type HB, the Swiss Company is launching on the market a new model for one and two-pile packs, and depending on the programme and size, the machine reaches an output up to 100 packets per minute. The wraps are

folded on the two lateral packet sides (endfold) with an overlap on one of the



The latest SIG Wrapping Machine for biscuits arranged in 1-2 piles, wrappers in endfold style. Output up to 100 packets per minute

two narrow longitudinal sides. Closure is effected by means of heat. The two large surfaces, therefore, are entirely available for printing the brand and other selling points, a photoelectric register device taking care of accurate location of the printed panel.

The work of the machine attendant is confined to the feed side and the filling of the hoppers. A further helper takes

off the finished packets at the discharge end of the machine and places them into the wholesale containers.

The lines of construction of the machine and the arrangement of the individual components permit quick changeover to another packet size or another programme. The compact design enables positioning of the machine also where space accommodation is very difficult. A point of further interest is the closed-in type, with cast iron housing where all the driving gears are positioned. Lubrication is 100 percent automatic, so that servicing is practically done away with, and cleaning is confined to the track through which the packets travel.

### SWEDEN'S TRADE WITH CHINA INCREASED

Sweden's trade with China shows the following increase:

	Sweden's Imports	Sweden's Exports
1955	12.0	9.0
1956	13.2	31.4
1957 first seven mths.	10.3	85.2

(all figures in million Swedish Kr.)

The 1956 exports to China included woodpulp — Sw. Kr. 9.9 million; non-electric machinery — Kr. 6.2 million; chemicals — Kr. 4.7 million, iron and steel and manufactures thereof — Kr. 3.3 million.

## Will Japan Reduce Wool Imports?

JAPAN'S wool industry has expanded production rapidly during the 1954-56 period, and the industry's imports of raw and semi-manufactured materials have grown sharply. These increased imports were made possible due to Japan's steadily improving foreign exchange position during this three-year period.

	Production of		
	Imports of raw wool	woollen yarn	woollen fabrics
	(million lb.)	(million lb.)	(million lb.)
1954	156	169	154
1955	205	185	186
1956	292	232	220

The first six months of 1957, however, have witnessed a deterioration of Japan's balance of payment and the official gold and foreign exchange holdings decreased from US\$1,507 million by the end of 1956 to US\$993 million by the end of June 1957. As a result of deflationary measures taken by the Japanese authorities — including the raising of the bank rate in March and again in May — the home market of the wool industry experienced a contraction, and woollen spinners reached an agreement to curtail output in order to avoid a slump in prices. It provided for a reduction of production by about 30 percent of the monthly average in 1956, and was to operate from July. The latest available figures show, however, that the production of woollen yarn which amounted to 134 million lb. during the first half of 1957 was, in fact, about 7 percent higher than that of the corresponding period of 1956, and that in July the output amounted to 21,027,000lb. as against 20,340,000lb. in July 1956.

It has been reported that Japan has reduced her import quotas of raw wool, but during the first three months of the present Australian wool selling period which opened at the beginning of July, Australian wool shipments to Japan

have reached 41 million lb. valued at £A17 million. This represents over 25 percent of the total value of Australia's wool exports which, during this period (July-September), amounted to £A65.5 million. This is £A12 million higher than during the corresponding period of last year.

UK exports of wool tops to Japan decreased in September to 79,000lb. as against 117,000lb. during September 1956, but the exports during the first nine months of 1957 reached 4,375,000lb. valued at £2,554,457 showing a considerable increase against the exports during the corresponding period of 1956 when they amounted to 3,038,000lb. valued at £1,482,120.

In addition the UK exported to Japan during the first nine months of this year raw wool to the value of £384,533, and wool waste to the value of £2,046,849 which is considerably more than during the corresponding period of last year.

The latest available figures show that during the first eight months of 1957 Japan's total imports of wool have reached 210 million lb. (compared with 292 million lb. during the whole of 1956).

There is little doubt that if Japan really were to cut her wool imports drastically, it would have some influence on the world prices of this commodity. On the other hand, world wool consumption is steadily rising and this could offset Japan's reduction of imports. Furthermore, the Japanese authorities endeavour to fight the foreign exchange deficit by intensive promotion of exports, and the level of Japanese wool textiles exports has not yet reached the pre-war level. The activation of these exports would lead to further imports of wool and wool tops by Japan. The recently concluded Japanese-Australian trade agreement and the pending trade negotiations between Japan and New Zealand could lead to growing trade between Japan and these two Commonwealth countries with favourable repercussions on Japan's raw wool imports from there.

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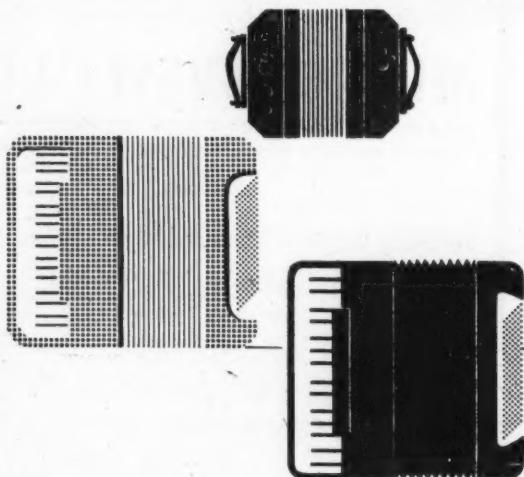
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**JAPAN AND COLOMBO PLAN**

The recently published Report, *The Colombo Plan, Report for 1956-57*, by the Council for Technical Co-operation in South and South-East Asia (HMSO, 2s.) refers to the following Japanese activities within the Colombo Plan negotiated or executed during the past year:

In Ceylon a Japanese fisheries adviser will assist in mechanising small fishing craft. Japan is training in marine botany an officer who will explore the commercial possibilities of sea weeds. Japan is supplying Ceylon with a rice polishing machine and also has provided an entomologist to study the insects which attack the paddy crop and to suggest methods for their control. A water weed called *Salvinia* is another problem of Ceylon's agriculture and an organisation for its control is now being set up assisted by a Japanese consultant. Further, Japan is training two agricultural extension officers and a paddy research officer of the Gal Oya multi-purpose project. She is also assisting fruit growing in highland allotments by providing a horticultural expert.

In India Japan is providing to the state of Saurashtra a master fisherman, skippers in gill and drift netters and shrimp trawler and dragging vessels and a fisheries engineer, and has accepted a trainee in fish technology from Orissa and another in marine fisheries development from the Central Marine Fisheries Research Station,

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## Mr. Errol back from China

**T**HERE are good prospects for a steady — but no spectacular — growth of trade between the UK and China," said Mr. Erroll, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, after his return from a four-week visit to China. It is estimated that at present the trade with the UK amounts to about 1.5 percent of China's total foreign trade. An increase to 3 percent without changing the pattern of China's overall foreign trade would be of great importance from the point of view of UK-China trade development. (UK exports to China reached the value of £8.6 million during the first 9 months of 1957 as against £7.3 million during the corresponding period of 1956, and UK imports from China increased from £9.8 million to £10.9 million during the same period.)

The Chinese authorities are interested in developing economic relations with Britain. Mr. Erroll, during his talks with Prime Minister Chou En-lai and high officials of the various Ministries as well as with Chinese State Export and Import Organisations, explained that Britain was interested in increasing her two-way trade with China.

Mr. Erroll was accompanied by Mr. R. B. Tippetts, senior Board of Trade official in charge of trade with East Asia, and Mr. J. S. Saddler, Mr. Erroll's private secretary. He was anxious to get first hand impressions on China's economic development as a prerequisite for talks on trade. During his trip he spent several days in the industrial North-East as well as in Shanghai, and visited several industrial plants. Mr. Erroll stated after his return to London that China was making great industrial progress, whereby the achievements were partly due to the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and other East European countries. This included assistance in the field of planning, supply of capital goods and in

sending industrial advisers. Now — in many cases — the Russian advisers have left and the work was being done by Chinese managers and technicians, and the Minister emphasised the natural mechanical aptitude of the Chinese. Again and again he was told by the Chinese of their desire to obtain technical information from the UK. The required information ranges from a general type which is freely available from the publications of scientific and technical character to detailed knowledge possessed by individual British firms as a result of the work carried out by their research and production departments. It was up to the individual firms to decide how far the parting with their "know how" would assist them in securing orders from China. On the question of organisation of a British engineering exhibition in China, which would show those UK products which the Chinese may require for their further economic development, Mr. Erroll thought that this might be a good idea from the long term policy point of view. It would be an expensive affair which might, however, bring good results in future years. British firms could also accept — under certain conditions — Chinese technicians for training in their factories, and the Minister cited an example that during his stay in Peking a representative of a British firm has offered to accept 6 Chinese trainees.

On the question of terms of payment Mr. Erroll said that apparently at present the Chinese authorities were satisfied with the existing practice (Letters of Credit), and he had no evidence that any western country had offered to China medium- or long-term credits. However, should the question of delivering of "whole factories" become topical — then the question of special payment arrangements might arise.

The fact that Mr. Erroll was the first British Minister to visit China since the end of the War heightens the importance of his journey. After his return to London he also mentioned that people in China looked well dressed and fed, that the department stores were well stocked and that there were no queues at the shops.

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## Chinese Mission in Britain

**A**S a result of China's industrial development China will be able and will be interested in buying more goods than in the past but the buying will be a more selective one. This was stated by Dr. Chi Chao-ting, the head of the Chinese Technical and Economic Mission which arrived in London by the end of October, and which is the most representative Chinese Mission to visit Britain since the end of the War. Dr. Chi Chao-ting, Ph.D., is the Vice-Chairman and General Secretary of the China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade. Deputy leader of the Mission is Mr. Kan Pai, Director of the Technical Department of the First Ministry of Machine Building, and the other members are directors of industrial research institutes, leading officials of various Ministries and of large industrial works. The main aim of the Mission is to secure first-hand information on the latest developments in various engineering industries of Great Britain. The collected information could establish a basis for increased economic relations between the two countries, and a very large number of British firms have invited the Mission to visit their factories. Some of its members are graduates of British technical colleges and are well acquainted with British industry. Their present visit will help them to bring their knowledge of UK industrial achievements up to date and to establish personal contacts with executives of British firms, and with scientific and technical organisations.

While fully realising the value of such a visit for the creation of contacts, it is clear that the most appropriate follow-up step would be the establishing of a permanent Chinese Technical Mission in London.

Earlier in October a Chinese Textile Machinery Mission, headed by Mr. Tang Kuang-te, arrived in Britain and visited a number of textile machinery manufacturing firms. It is understood that as a result of this a number of contracts, including for wool-textile machinery, may be concluded shortly.

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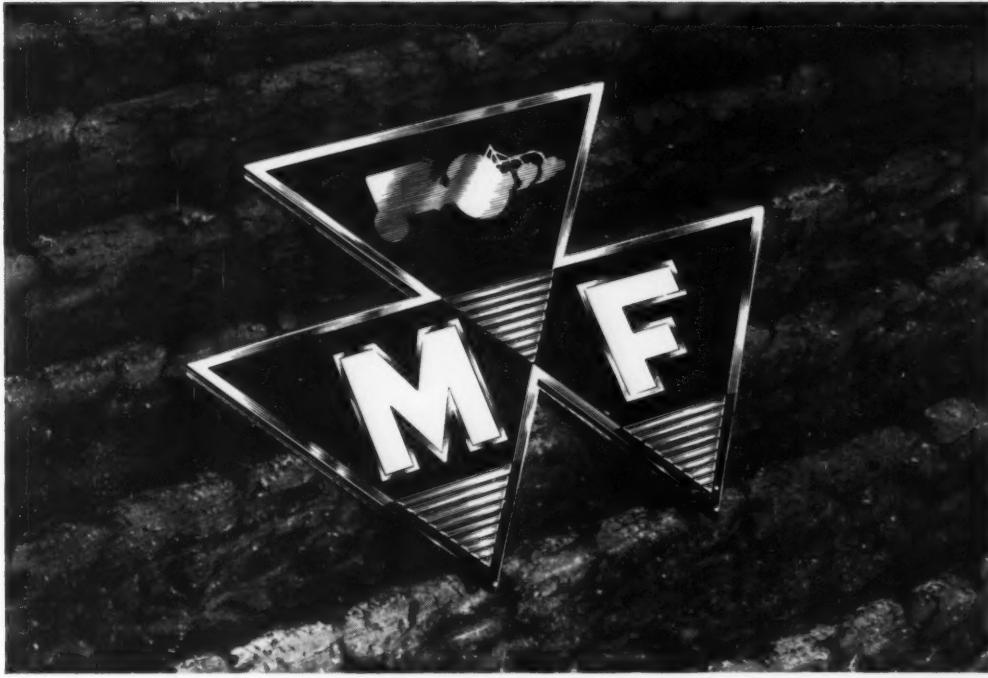
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